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An unusual find in the New Forest Potteries at Linwood, Hants

By C. F. C. HAWKES, F.S.A.

FOR over three-quarters of a century the New Forest potteries have had their place in the archaeology of Roman Britain. The first discoveries at Crock Hill were made by the Rev. J. P. Bartlett in 1852, and our Secretary Akerman's paper on these,¹ together with J. R. Wise's work at Islands Thorns and elsewhere,² soon made 'New Forest ware' as familiar a household word as 'Castor' or 'Upchurch' in the mouths of Victorian antiquaries. These researches made it clear that the potteries flourished mainly in the latter part of the Roman period: not only do we hear of no associations with 'Samian' (Terra Sigillata), but the majority of the coin-finds, rare as they were, were later than the middle of the third century. But to the early explorers 'the Romans' remained always alien conquerors, and it was left for Haverfield, who reviewed the material in 1900,³ to point out that the New Forest wares 'have no Roman or Italian analogies, and are obviously native'. 'It is a melancholy pleasure', he remarked, 'to find in this secluded corner of Britain a survival, however poor, of native ways.' And in his *Romanization of Roman Britain*⁴ he duly quoted 'the New Forest urns with their curious leaf-ornament' among the 'little local manufactures'

¹ *Archaeologia*, xxxv (1853), 91 ff.; see also *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 1st ser., ii, 285-6; iv, 167; and *Arch. Journ.* xxx (1873), 319 ff.

² Wise, *The New Forest* (1863), 214 ff.

³ *V.C.H. Hants*, i, 326-8.

⁴ 2nd edn. (1912), 39-40; cf. Haverfield and Macdonald, *Roman Occupation of Britain*, 241.

attesting the 'sporadic survival' of native Celtic art under Roman rule. But both there and in Professor Collingwood's *Roman Britain*¹ it is in the livelier decoration of Castor ware that this was more explicitly recognized, and in the latest expression of his judgement, Professor Collingwood sums the matter up in a more guarded fashion.² He praises the New Forest potters' spontaneity and taste, but while recognizing a surviving native spirit in their art he rightly stresses its elusiveness: 'often we seem vaguely to feel that a design, taken as a whole, is tinged with a Celtic flavour, when on looking more closely we see that everything about it is Roman.' The fact is that despite the underlying spirit of his craft, the New Forest potter was engaged in a form of mass-production; his whole external conditioning was Roman-provincial, and in his commercial output we thus have but a dull mirror for catching anything of his native ideas of art. Those native ideas are obviously there, as Haverfield was the first to see, but their illumination melts imperceptibly into the common daylight of Romano-British convention.

Their effect is thus difficult to analyse, and one finds it easier to agree on the fact of their presence than to define the consequences in detail. But, somehow, they gave the New Forest industry a distinctly individual character; one need only handle any typical batch of the pottery to get a notion of it, and the surest way to its fuller appreciation is to look through the *New Forest Pottery Sites* of Mr. Heywood Sumner.³ Here the sensibility and skill of the artist have combined in selection and illustration to make an unequalled repertory of the craft of the Forest potters. Mr. Sumner's book has indeed made all the difference to our knowledge of them. He bears full witness to the strength of their Romanization, while his sympathy brings out just this saving difference from the lifeless average of provincial standards.

Furthermore, his excavations have begun to throw more light on the industry's history and its dating. At Ashley Rails (1918-19) he encountered again the metallic purple ware which Crock Hill and Islands Thorns had made so well known, and was able to associate with it red-coated bowls, often versions of Samian forms, with ornament not only in paint but in distinctive stamped rosettes. The analogy of the late Gallo-Roman 'Marne ware', and the occurrence of these bowls on sundry late Romano-British sites, demonstrated a fourth-century date for this phase of the industry, and Ashley Rails (with Pitt's Wood adjoining) is

¹ 1st edn. (1923), 73-5; revised edn. (1932), 101-3.

² *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, 2nd edn. (1937), 235-7, 257-8.

³ *Excavations in New Forest Pottery Sites* (Chiswick Press, 1927).

accordingly grouped with Crock Hill and Islands Thorns (where Bartlett had found coins of Julian and Valens) as attesting 'Late-period production'. On the other hand, the subsequent work at Old Sloden and Rough-piece (1920 and 1925) brought to light uncoloured coarse-ware only, on which burnished 'scribed' line-ornament and other features suggested 'Early-period production'—that is, perhaps, as far back as around A.D. 200. This dating is admittedly only a guess, but in the absence of coin-evidence it can only be fixed in relation to the 'Middle period' represented by the remaining group of potteries. These are the Sloden Inclosure kilns and those at Linwood, excavated in 1920 and 1922. To judge by what Mr. Sumner found, they began work before the tradition of the 'Early' scribed coarse-ware had died out, and ended only when the 'Late' purple ware had made at least a partial appearance. And the South Kiln at Linwood yielded a coin of Licinius (A.D. 308–24), so that if the 'Early period' is to be dated farther back in the third century, as the 'Late period' is farther on in the fourth, the 'Middle period' may be fitted in fairly comfortably between them, about and soon after 300.

Clearly this outline is of very great value. But it still calls for a good deal of filling in. Mr. Bushe-Fox has shown that at Richborough the 'Late-period' rosette-stamped ware cannot yet safely be dated before the fourth-century's middle years;¹ the inception of the other red-coated types should be earlier but cannot be proved so, while that of the purple ware is in very much the same case. But since it was the latter's painted ornament which first drew Haverfield's attention to the 'native' element in the industry's traditions, it is obviously desirable to know when it began to be produced, and further, what its relation was to the scribed-ornament convention likewise claimed as 'native' in the earlier coarse-ware. In other words, we cannot know too much about the Middle period: the single Licinius dating-point is not enough, if this period's duration and its overlap with the others on either hand are to be properly demonstrated, while the relationships within it between painted purple ware, scribed coarse-ware, and the other fabrics still need closer investigation. And that is not to demand minute knowledge merely for its own sake: anything which throws light on the transition in modes and ideas from the middle to the late Roman age is of value in Britain, and this is not least true for pottery, in terms of which the archaeologist now tends to think so much.

This need is particularly strong in our present case, since, as

¹ *Richborough I*, 89 ff.

we have seen, the New Forest industry has been credited with an element of native British inspiration. Was this element actually traditional—handed down from the pre-Roman period of Celtic art? Or was it the revival of a native spirit which had been for a good while put under by Romanization? Or was it a blend of both? The answer can hardly be satisfactory without a sound chronology, especially for the various styles of the Middle period. And, furthermore, whatever that answer turns out to be, it is bound to affect our reading of the underlying riddle: What did this 'native' element really consist of?

There are two possible ways of meeting this situation. One would be to review all the New Forest pottery found in stratified associations on excavated sites in the south of Britain. But though the list in Mr. Sumner's book shows the number of sites which have yielded it to be considerable, there are very few where stratified evidence is available. This is largely because so many of these sites are ill-explored and ill-recorded villas; there is not much precise evidence as yet from the towns, and that from village sites is at times not precise enough. The fact is, that however clearly the general trends of the third and fourth centuries in Britain may stand out, we have little very accurate knowledge of their material in most districts of Britain, and of those districts the 'Wessex' area is still emphatically one. It follows that at present such a review must wait on further excavation. Meanwhile, the other possible expedient is to do more excavation in the New Forest itself. One may say it would be ill gleaning after Mr. Sumner. But that it is still possible to follow in his footsteps, and bring new evidence to supplement his major findings, will be seen from the discovery that this paper has to record.

The position so far may be summarized thus: The New Forest in the third and fourth centuries supported a pottery industry, Romanized in its general type, but with a certain 'native' spirit. Of its three main periods, the Late is the best known, and fuller acquaintance with the others is still needed. The Middle period in particular should repay further attention, as representing the industry's transition from Middle to Late-Roman conditions, and a closer knowledge and dating of its work at this juncture might bear especially on the questions which surround its enigmatic native element. If it were possible in any way to get behind the convention of the potters' commercial products, and catch sight of some more intimate expression of their ideas, there would be fresh light on those questions at once. And the light would be all the clearer if it emerged in a setting helpful to this period's chronology.

Of the six kilns of the Middle period discovered by Mr. Sumner, three are in Sloden Inclosure, near the western edge of the high ground above the Avon valley at Fordingbridge, and the others are two miles farther south-west at Linwood, a detached portion of the parish of Ellingham on the tributary valley of the Dockens Water. When Mr. Sumner wrote,¹ Linwood was an isolated tract of forest-clearance and cultivation consisting of a few small farms and holdings, but a recent change has brought the known pottery area within the grounds created by Colonel

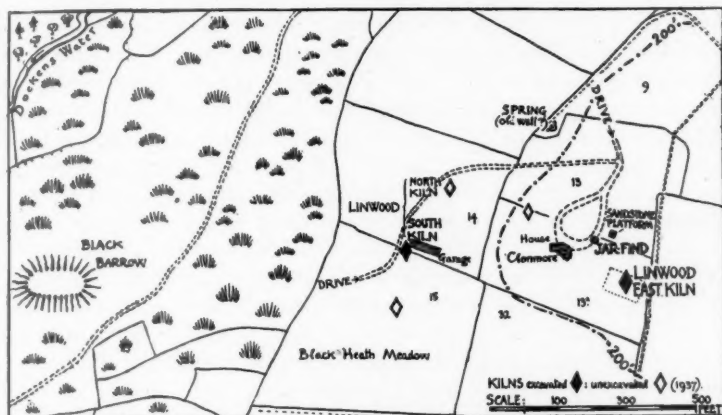


FIG. 1. Sketch-map of the Linwood area

and Mrs. A. Ogilvie for the house 'Clonmore' which they have there had built. The map, fig. 1, illustrates the new planning of the property in relation to the fields shown on the 6-in. and 25-in. O.S. maps (Hants LXIII SW.; LXIII. 6 and 10), and to Mr. Sumner's map² marking the position of his kilns. Across the north-west corner runs the Dockens Water, on its way to the Avon at Ringwood some four miles distant, and the strip of boggy ground flanking it is part of the 'Black Heath', whence comes the name 'Black Heath Meadow' used by Mr. Sumner in describing the Middle-period kilns situated in the pasture, formerly arable, on the east. Here, 300 yards due east of the oval sand-hillock called Black Barrow,³ the 'South Site' kiln dug by him in 1922⁴ now lies directly behind Col. Ogilvie's garage; the other kiln on the 'North Site' facing it, which in 1920 could not be actually located,⁵ has now been found beside the drive

¹ *Excavations in New Forest Roman Pottery Sites*, 73 ff.

² *Ibid.* 85.

³ *Ibid.* 87-8.

⁴ *Ibid.* 93-4.

⁵ *Ibid.* 73.

which leads up the valley side towards the house; while two other kilns have been found in addition, one in Black Heath meadow beyond the 'South' kiln, the other higher up to the north-east. The house itself stands just above the 200-ft. contour-line, against what was formerly the hedge between the next two fields, and the main drive, approaching from the north, opens out in front of it in a broad circle. The eastern edge of the circle, as the map shows, is only 40 yards distant from the last of Mr. Sumner's kilns, the Linwood 'East Site', excavated in November 1920.¹ This kiln, with its pilaster oven-supports, belongs to type III of Mr. W. F. Grimes's classification,² which is not elsewhere attested in the Forest, but in other respects (e.g. the distinctive slanting chimney at the back) it is very like its fellows, and its wares are fully characteristic of the industry's Middle period. Though the excavator judged its yield of sherds and burnt matter small enough to suggest it was not used for long, such refuse was in fact scattered for a considerable distance round it, and quantities of the debris were encountered when the eastern circuit of Col. Ogilvie's drive began to be cut into the slope below. It was here that the remarkable discovery was made.

The geological formation in this area is that of the Eocene Bracklesham Beds. As well as the clay which is their main component and was the source of the potters' raw material, these also include layers of sand, and into this sand and clay the cutting for the drive was made. Its top, under the modern turf, carried a confused jumble of kiln-debris, representing the ground-surface as the potters had left it in Roman times. At a depth of some 21 inches this gave place to the natural yellowish sand, and on 15 Feb. 1937 at a point 180 ft. west-north-west of the north-eastern corner of the field numbered 13 *a* in the 25-in. Ordnance map (fig. 1), measured along the old hedge-line between it and no. 13, a large pottery jar was encountered standing upright in the sand, with its base at 3 ft. below modern surface. The jar was firmly and evidently purposely embedded. Though much cracked, its fabric was in undisturbed position as high as the shoulder, which stood among the debris of the Roman surface-line; the neck and mouth above this had been shattered, principally no doubt when the field was in recent times under plough, but the majority of the fragments were found crushed within the vessel's shoulder, and their restored profile (fig. 2, 2) makes it clear that the neck had stood roughly at the Roman ground-level,

¹ *Excavations in New Forest Roman Pottery Sites*, 76-80, with pls. xxiii-xxiv.

² *Y Cymmrodor*, xli, 55-6 and fig. 31; list, 68-9, no. 25 ('Black Heath Meadow, East').

with the mouth, which had been much worn by exposure, just projecting above it. Col. and Mrs. Ogilvie carefully excavated the jar themselves. Within, its upper portion was found to be full of mixed sandy soil, thick not only with fragments of its own neck and mouth, but with numerous other potsherds also, all of

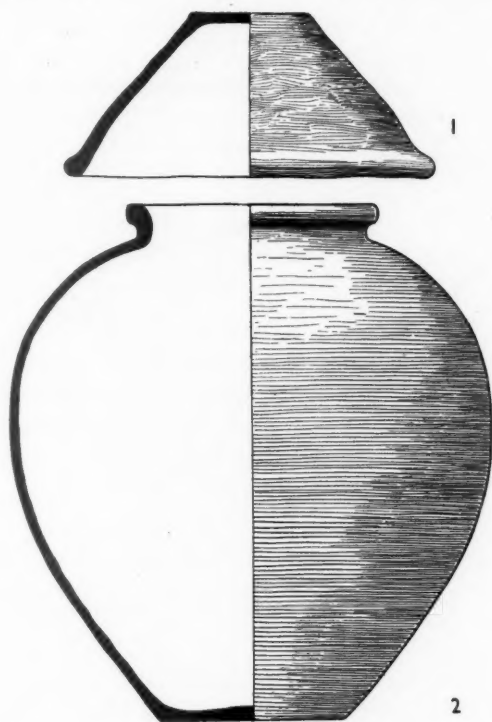


FIG. 2. Linwood: (1) pottery cover, and (2) water-jar ($\frac{1}{8}$)

New Forest ware as made by the East Kiln potters on the spot. Some were single fragments (fig. 3, 3-4), but there were large parts of the bowl restored as fig. 3, 1, and a small lid (fig. 3, 2) was present complete. The outstanding piece, however, represented by sherds accounting for nine-tenths of its entirety, was the large cover (fig. 2, 1), which for the reasons to be given below may be regarded without hesitation as made to fit over the mouth of the containing jar itself, and used for this purpose during its period of service.

What that service was is not hard to divine. About 1 ft. above

the bottom of the jar was found the lowermost of the contained pieces of pottery, the jug or flask lacking its nether portion (fig. 3, 5), and the mould on which this, along with more fragments of the cover, was embedded was different from what had lain above. It was damp, compact, and black, and this distinctive muddy deposit continued right down to the bottom of the jar. Plainly the jar had been buried in the ground with its mouth open

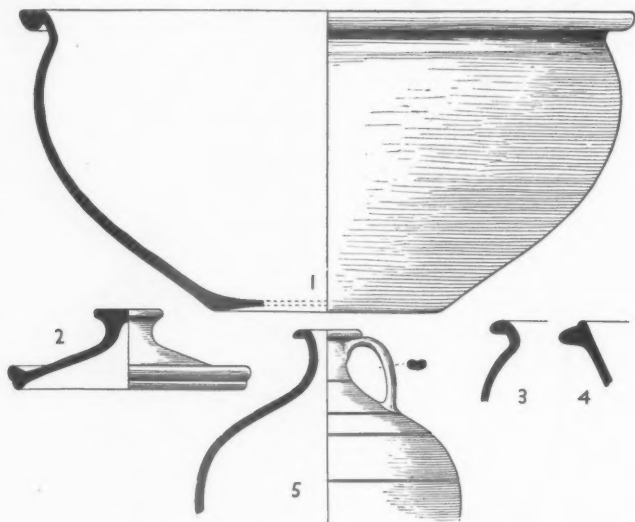


FIG. 3. Linwood: pottery found inside the water-jar (4)

to the air, and the black muddy deposit had thereafter formed inside to a clear depth of something like a foot before the admission of any of the pottery refuse which had filled the mixed soil over it. The black deposit, then, represents the period of the jar's use, during which its interior was kept, by the big outside cover just noticed, clear of the rubbish which strewed the potters' working-area all round; the mixed sandy soil above, crammed with pieces of this rubbish, represents its disuse. There is only one reasonable explanation which will fit the facts. The jar was an earth-fast container for the water used by the potters in working up their clay.

Water for this purpose was of course no less necessary to have at hand than fuel, sand, or clay itself, and the Forest soils provided all in ideal conjunction;¹ if, as here, clay is overlain by

¹ Sumner, *op. cit.* 1.

some depth of sand in the natural formation, water would not be far to seek along their junction. And in fact only some 100 yards away to the north-west an abundant spring of water (fig. 1) emerges along this junction at the bottom of a hollow in the sandy ground which is very probably the enlargement of an old well. Whether this was the actual source of the potters' supply cannot be definitely stated, but with the Dockens Water so far away down in the valley they must certainly have obtained well-water in this fashion near at hand. However, for continual use in their daily work it would be convenient to have a store of water still closer within reach and at surface level, and as large store-jars were part of their normal output, such a vessel, buried for safety from accident in the ground of their working-area, would make the handiest possible form of reservoir. The alternative would be to dig a 'puddling-hole' on the spot down to water-level, large enough to be entered by a flight of steps; such a hole has recently been disclosed at the contemporary pottery near Dorchester in Oxfordshire, published last year by Mr. D. B. Harden.¹ But an excavation 18 ft. across by 10 ft. deep is all very well in the compact river-gravel of the Upper Thames: in a loose bed of Bracklesham sands it is a much less practical proposition, and in their local circumstances it is not surprising that the Linwood East potters preferred to draw well-water near by and store it in this manner for actual use. They would naturally keep it clear of rubbish, but in time it would inevitably form the clean black sediment which was found in the bottom part of the jar. To complete our assurance, within 4 ft. there was just afterwards revealed another jar, of similar form and fabric but rather smaller size, buried in exactly the same manner beside it. This had also been filled up on disuse with mixed soil and potsherds; but since the fragments add nothing to the evidence of those in the first jar, and include no remains of anything like its peculiar outer cover, it will not be necessary to describe this second find here in detail.

The position of the two jars is 40 yards west of the kiln itself, and it must further be recorded that between, some 20 yards from the jars and 35 from the kiln, gardening has disclosed a rectangular platform of laid sandstone, measuring some 5 by 3 ft., flush with the Roman ground-level at a foot or so below modern surface. Col. Ogilvie informs me that a similar platform has been encountered by his neighbour Mr. Lea at the Early-period pottery of Rough-piece, since the excavation of the kiln there by Mr. Sumner. It is noteworthy that that kiln and ours

¹ *Oxoniensia*, i (1936), 83 ff., 90-2.

at Linwood East are with Old Sloden the only sites in the Forest where Mr. Sumner did not find surrounding areas floored with puddled clay;¹ such surfaces were, one supposes, laid primarily for kneading pot-clay or air-drying the unfired pots, and Mr. Sumner is persuaded they were kept dry by a makeshift roof. At these sites where there is nothing of that kind, the small sandstone platform, whether roofed or not, was evidently the alternative, and we therefore have this as well as the water-jar discovery to add to Mr. Sumner's picture of the Linwood East establishment.

And in the water-jars themselves, with their assembled contents, we have evidence of another kind to add to the outline sketched above of the whole industry's history and character. We have already seen the need of better acquaintance with the chronology of the various fabrics produced in its Middle period, and in this find we have a coherent group of pieces to put beside the rather short series published by Mr. Sumner from the East Kiln itself.² And for their chronological setting there are two further features of the discovery. First, among the rubbish of the Roman surface-soil close by on the west, Mrs. Ogilvie had some months earlier found a fragment of a brooch, of brightly shining yellow bronze. This is in fact the head-knob and half the cross-bar of a cross-bow brooch, of the earlier type (Collingwood's 74) which, rare before the middle of the third century, flourished thereafter till towards the middle of the fourth, and was perhaps most popular in the few decades on either side of A.D. 300.³ Secondly, Mr. Sumner himself, when looking through for Col. Ogilvie the pottery found inside the same jar, found adhering to one of the sherds the remains of a worn bronze coin. This, when first inspected at the British Museum, showed certain vestiges of a radiate head, as of Tetricus, and Mr. Harold Mattingly and Mr. J. W. E. Pearce have since each examined it both before and after further cleaning, and agree that it is most probably the remnant either of a Tetricus issue or of a rather large subsequent 'radiate imitation'. While its diameter is now 15 mm. and was originally a little more, its lack of other positive features leaves one without much further to go upon; but since the volume of 'radiate' coinage seems to have reached its height in Britain around A.D. 300,⁴ its presence is at least consistent with a date for the deposit somewhere near the beginning of the fourth century. In short, both brooch-type and coin suit, and may be

¹ Sumner, *op. cit.* 105-6.

² *Ibid.* 79-80, pl. xxiv.

³ *Richborough I*, pl. xii, 9; *II*, pl. xvii, 19; *Verulamium*, fig. 44, 32; etc.

⁴ Sutherland, *Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain* (1937), 124.

added to, the existing evidence for the date of the period, though they do little to improve its quality.

The pottery itself may now be briefly described. Theoretically, the group might be divided into two, in the sense that the big jar with its cover must antedate, by the whole length of its serviceable life, the depositing of the remainder inside it. But that remainder was not all brand-new when deposited: in fact, a number of the sherds look as if they might have been lying about the site for some while before being swept in here as rubbish. The group is then best taken all together; but though it may thus cover the whole working-period of the kiln, that period cannot be thought too long to be reckoned a reasonable unit—indeed, in Mr. Sumner's judgement (p. 118) it was probably quite short.¹ The pottery may therefore stand as an 'associated find' in the accepted sense of the term. Actually, the cover is not to be paralleled at any period, and will be discussed presently by itself, while the big jar simply represents the later Romano-British version of the type of store-jar inherited from pre-Roman times (cf. *Verulamium*, 197-8, fig. 37, no. 76). Mr. Sumner found abundant pieces of such vessels when excavating the East Kiln itself (*op. cit.* 80), some rope-rimmed, but others plain as here (*ibid.*; cf. 74, with pl. xxii, 4-8); and Col. Ogilvie's patient restoration of the jar's whole profile enables the form to be illustrated for the first time in entirety (fig. 2, 2). The diameter is 23 in., the height 24½; the clay is a hard-baked sandy drab-buff fabric, fired to a greyish surface, which is typical of this whole class of the kiln's output. A finer, bluish-grey rendering of the same fabric was used for the broad bowl, fig. 3, 1, a form of Mr. Sumner's 'knob-rimmed' family, which was made in several variants. His rims from the East Kiln are perhaps the closest parallels (*ibid.* 79, pl. xxiv, 3-4), though the form reappears at Sloden (*ibid.* 66-8, pl. xviii, 13; 109, pl. xxx, 12); at the Linwood North and South sites ('Black Heath Meadow': *ibid.* 73-5, pl. xxii, 9-15) the convention is somewhat different, and closer to the Late-period series from Ashley Rails (*ibid.* 39, pl. xi, 6-12), but our bowl has kept the reeded rim of the form's second- and first-century forerunners, and would hardly be at home far into the fourth century. It was discarded probably as a waster that had drooped in the kiln; if allowance is made for the consequent 'tired' profile, it may be seen, like the answering form 52 at the Sandford kilns in Oxfordshire, to have something still about it of that 'early' look which carries a memory of pre-Roman form (cf. *Oxoniensia*, i, 59, fig. 11, 22 with *Archaeologia*, lxxii, 241,

¹ Sumner, *op. cit.* 79.

fig. 9, 52). The lid (fig. 3, 2), in the same ware, follows the normal Romano-British pattern, already formed by assimilation of native to Roman models as early as the middle first century; its lip-moulding is particularly bold, but though this feature occurs in the Forest more often in the Late than the Middle period (Sumner, *op. cit.* pl. xii, 1-3; cf. pl. xxi, 12), it is really only an optional piece of convention liable to occur at any time. Lastly, the jar and flanged dish rims (fig. 3, 3-4), again in the same ware, are of types not before recorded from the East Kiln, but abundant on the other two Linwood sites (*ibid.* pl. xxii, 24 and 19-21).

None of these five pieces bears surface ornament. But there are also three fragments of a fair-sized jar in precisely similar ware, shown conjoined in pl. xxxv, A, which are decorated with a big lattice-pattern in the 'scribed' technique noticed above (p. 115) as a feature of Mr. Sumner's 'Early period'. Among the various 'scribed' designs of that period at Old Sloden and Rough-piece, the lattice is plentifully represented (Sumner, *op. cit.* 56; 97-8 and pl. xxvii), and its survival also into the Middle period is attested at Sloden Inclosure (*ibid.* 65 and pl. xvii, 11-14) and most notably by the fine two-handled jar from the Linwood East Kiln itself (*ibid.* 80 and pl. xxiv, 6). These fragments are then quite at home in our group, and serve as a reminder that this 'Early' convention was not yet dead. They also move one to ask how 'early' it need be. Mr. Sumner has suggested \pm A.D. 200 for the Early period.¹ But such a high dating is hard to reconcile with the evident continuity between this and the Middle period—unless indeed one pulls the latter further back into the third century than it will readily go. And in fact evidence since obtained elsewhere makes it possible to reduce the date quite considerably. The horizontal rilling, for instance, on Old Sloden jars like Sumner's pl. xiv, 14, has been found at Verulamium to outlast the second century and even at times to reach the fourth,² while the Rough-piece jar-type with much-everted cavetto rim (*ibid.*, pl. xxvii, 1) is almost exactly like the Middle-period examples from Sloden Inclosure (*ibid.*, pl. xviii, 1-3), and but little removed from the fully splayed fourth-century form Collingwood 73. Similarly the 'scribed' ornament is seen still in full swing on the vessels associated in the Margidunum well with coins of Tetricus and Carausius, and so buried not long before 300.³

In other words, the Early period did not precede the Middle by very long, and an initial date for it about 250 best suits the pottery, as well as the explanation to be suggested below (p. 128)

¹ *Op. cit.* 97.

² Wheeler, *Verulamium*, 197.

³ *J.R.S.* xvi, 36 ff., 41-2; pl. v, 1-4, etc.

for the rise of the whole New Forest industry. Thus the date to be accepted on other grounds for our Middle-period group requires no raising for any 'early' feature. On the contrary, its inclusion of this 'scribed' ornament adds a landmark to the later history of a convention which may be followed without interruption back through the third and second centuries. Between roughly 100 and 150 it had spread all over Britain as a feature of that assimilation of Roman type to native rendering which marks such a turning-point in the ceramic history of Romanization,¹ and before that, though less in evidence in the intensely Romanized south-east, it stands out in these more westerly regions as a proven legacy from pre-Roman Britain. From the Cranborne Chase villages of Woodcuts² and Rotherley,³ from the mid-first-century Cogdean burial,⁴ and in the plentiful H-, I-, and J-class wares from Hengistbury Head,⁵ we have a continuous series linking our examples with the decades before the Roman conquest, when the contact of late 'B' and Belgic cultures reduced to such simple line and lattice-work the more varied decorative essays of the earlier Celtic potters.⁶ In fact, it is in precisely the region to which the New Forest pottery district belongs that this convention's native origin may be most readily appreciated.

So much, then, for the coarse pottery: it is consistent with the other evidence for dating our find around A.D. 300, and it shows that, even at this date, New Forest potters were working in a tradition running back, in part at least, unbroken to pre-Roman times. But the sherds within our jar also included a round dozen fragments of New Forest colour-coated ware, and these, together with the jug or flask, fig. 3, 5, require a few lines to themselves.

The flask has a big body and a very slender neck, stopping short at an everted ring-lip, against which the two-ribbed handle is attached, and not running on into a tubular nozzle above it, as in the normal 'oil-flask' of the Late period (Sumner, pl. ix, 1-2, 11-13). Its form is in fact not closely paralleled in Mr. Sumner's publication, though approached by one neck from Ashley Rails (*ibid.* 4), and another of Bartlett's from Crock Hill (*Arch.* xxxv, 96, pl. III, 3); typologically, as lacking a nozzle, it

¹ Collingwood, *Roman Britain* (1932), 99-100.

² Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations*, i, pls. xxxii ff.

³ *Ibid.*, ii, pls. cvii ff.

⁴ *Arch. Journ.* lxxxvii, 285-6, fig. 26, 5.

⁵ Bushe-Fox, *Hengistbury Head*, pls. xxii ff.

⁶ e.g. Classes D-F at Hengistbury (pls. xx-xxi); but the pre-Belgic decorated wares of the Middle Avon region are more typically represented at Fifeild Bavant (*Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xlii, 475 and pl. vi), Highfield, Salisbury (*ibid.* xlii, 600 and fig. 7), or Yarnbury Castle (*ibid.* 203 and pls. xvi-xvii, showing lattice already present, but only as one of a larger repertory of designs).

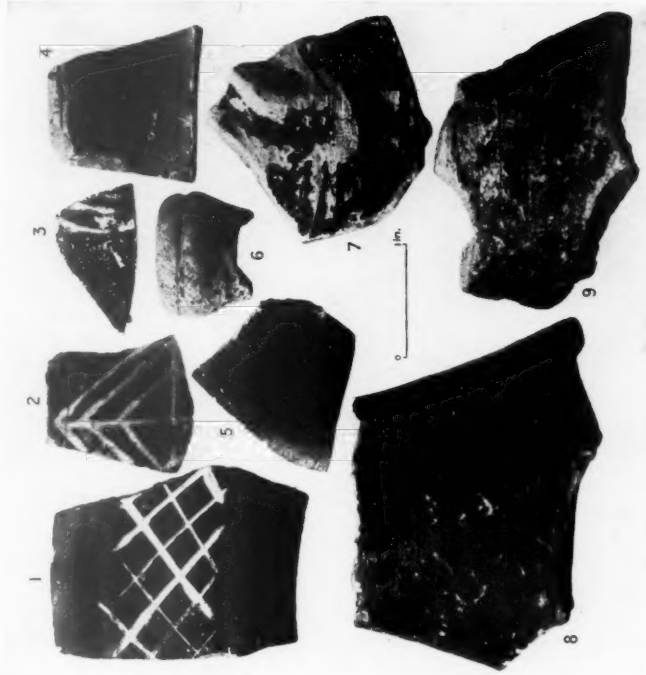
is earlier than the nozzled oil-flasks characteristic of those Late-period sites, and thus its appearance here in the Middle period might have been expected. It is made in softish grey-cored ware, with an orange under-skin just beneath the thin matt-faced colour-coat of dark purplish-brown. In its shallow girth-grooves are faint traces of white paint. The same fabric is represented among the other fragments by nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, and 7 of pl. xxxv, B, of which 6 is a nozzle broken from an oil-flask of the normally Late-period type just noticed (cf. Sumner, pl. ix, 13: Ashley Rails); 7 is from a flask-shoulder with stump of handle; 4 is from a beaker-neck as *ibid.* pl. III, 4, 6; and 1 and 3 are body-sherds painted with designs in white, of which 1 shows the traditional lattice adapted to this new medium. The remaining fragments (nos. 2, 5, 8, 9, and one plain body-sherd not figured) anticipate the Late period even more markedly in being of the hard-baked stony grey ware coated with a lustrous purple-metallic slip which is that period's most distinctive product; 2 shows its popular herring-bone design in white paint (cf. *Arch.* xxxv, 99: Crock Hill); 8 and 9 are from thick beaker-necks again of Ashley Rails type (Sumner, pl. III, 3, 9); and lastly 5 is from an indented 'thumb-pot', a form also familiar there (*ibid.* 5). Just as the coarse pottery raised the question of the group's upper limit of date, so now these colour-coated pieces raise that of its lower limit.

For Mr. Sumner refers to colour-coated ware in the Middle period as an occurrence of extreme rarity.¹ Here at the Linwood East kiln he found only a single 'unguent-vase' of it (his pl. xxiv, 5), and at the North and South sites only two similar sherds,² while at Sloden Inclosure there was the same scarcity, thumb-pots (as our no. 5) alone being represented. However, he himself very kindly examined the whole of this group of fragments for Col. Ogilvie, and pronounced them definitely of Linwood manufacture. It can then be agreed that in the Middle period colour-coated ware was being made, though in relatively small quantities, and one may add, in an experimental fashion; for the softer variety of our nos. 1, etc., with its orange under-skin and matt or nearly matt finish, is simply the metallic fabric of our nos. 2, etc., under-baked by a still unfamiliar hand. It was in fact the Middle period's experiments that thus succeeded in first mastering the metallic-ware technique which the Late period then exploited with such success. Our next step should thus be to fix the date delimiting the two.

This must not be earlier than the Licinius coin (308-24) found at the Linwood South kiln (p. 115 above), and it will be recalled

¹ *Op. cit.* 82.

² *Ibid.* 76.



A Linwood: pottery found inside the water-jar : **A**, coarse-ware sherds with scribed lattice-pattern; **B**, sherds of colour-coated ware, some with painted patterns



1. Linwood: jar-cover restored, showing design



2. The same reversed to show the rim (diameter 17 in.)

that the Richborough evidence (p. 115) gave us no ground for making the exclusive dominance of Late-period characters earlier than the middle years of the fourth century. But among those characters the most readily datable on independent grounds are the mortaria, and these (Sumner, pls. x, x A: Ashley Rails) show flanged and hammer-head types which may safely be put at least as early as the Constantinian age (cf. Wroxeter types 126 ff., 166 ff., 242). Thus we cannot after all be far wrong in putting the horizon between the Middle and Late periods about A.D. 330. Should we then confine our colour-coated fragments to the few years directly preceding this limit? It can be shown that we should not. For the evidence from the near-by village-sites on Cranborne Chase seems here decisive. Woodcuts, where the coins go down to Magnentius (350-3), yielded indeed more New Forest colour-coated ware than Rotherley, which only has coins to Tetricus (270-3),¹ but the latter site produced 17 pieces which serve at least to show that the end of its life just overlapped the beginning of the ware's production. And since Rotherley shows a blank where its neighbour has 10 coins of Carausius, 6 of Allectus, and 11 from Constantius onwards, it may safely be taken as abandoned by about 290-300; these then are the years in which colour-coated ware was first being made in the Forest. In other words, its experimental production started near the beginning of the Middle period, not near its end, and the pieces in our group need not be tied down to near 330: the group in fact is in this, as in all respects, typical of the Middle period as a whole, and the limiting dates of that may now on all counts be set down as c. 290-330. However, since the life of the Linwood East kiln seems to have been rather on the short side (p. 118 above), it will be safer to content ourselves with a central date of about 300 for the water-jar's initial installation, with the next dozen or twenty years as ample cover for the pottery found within it. With this precaution we may leave our group placed as a whole between about A.D. 300 and 320.

It therefore occupies a good central position in the history of the New Forest industry, for our inquiry has now produced the following approximate chronology for Mr. Sumner's three periods:

- Early period: A.D. 250-90
- Middle period: A.D. 290-330
- Late period: A.D. 330 onwards.

¹ Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations*, ii, 142 (coins: i, 162-3; ii, 189). Since both sites were excavated completely one can argue from them both positively and negatively with reasonable confidence.

The date of the Late period's termination is a question which cannot be gone into here, but we may pause for a moment to see how suggestively this dating for the Early and Middle periods fits in with the known history of Roman Britain at large. These hermit-like groups of potters, withdrawn from their industry's normal location among popular marketing-centres into a Forest barren of everything save their essential raw materials, are inexplicable before the years of economic collapse in the middle of the third century. But their appearance in precisely those years is in every way suited to the context of the times—above all, to the ruinous currency-inflation which destroyed the whole monetary basis of normal trading. For, as Mr. Sumner has compellingly suggested,¹ the New Forest potters sold their wares not for virtually worthless cash but for barter payments in kind, and in exchange for pottery brought home their ponies laden with the wheat which barter alone could be relied on to produce. In the Forest they had freedom from the general insecurity and from all overhead expenses, and thus it was that their industry was able to prosper. And so, some forty years later, when piracy in the Channel, invasion in the Rhineland, revolt in Gaul, and Carausius's rupture of the *Concordia Augustorum* must between them have virtually deprived the British better-class pottery-market of its long-established quota of Continental supply, they were able to take advantage of the scarcity, and compete with Castor and the bigger centres in producing the fashionable colour-coated ware themselves. Throughout the Middle period this remained an experiment, but the prosperity of the British countryside under Constantine brought its justification, and the Late period saw a great expansion of business which ended only with the final decay of the province itself.

The Middle period was thus, as we divined above, the turning-point in the history of the industry, and our Linwood group of pottery represents just those years in which a craft tradition, Romanized but in essential part native, surviving in an isolation deliberately embraced as an alternative to third-century bankruptcy, was beginning that enlargement of its range of production which led it into fourth-century prosperity. That it remained therewith unbroken is already sufficiently apparent: as one material symptom we need only cite the translation of the lattice and other patterns of the old 'scribed' repertory into the new medium of paint on a colour-coat background, attested in our group by the association of both illustrated in pl. xxxv, A and B. Here then, precisely in the narrows of the transition from Middle-

¹ *Op. cit.* 82.

Roman to Late-Roman times, is the ideal vantage-point for considering anew the question with which we first began, namely, the nature of that native or Celtic inspiration which is suspected of having preserved something more than mere 'scribing' of lattice-patterns from the artistic heritage of pre-Roman Britain. Hitherto, New Forest workmanship has repeatedly suggested a Celtic artist's sensibility still alive behind a provincial-Roman convention, yet it has never been caught with the convention cast aside. But one member of our pottery-group remains to be considered—the lid (fig. 2, 1) of the containing water-jar. And there a corner of the curtain seems at last to have been lifted.

For this lid is no part of the Linwood potters' commercial output. It is of the same hard dark-grey-faced buff-grey ware as the water-jar itself, only rather coarser and sandier, with an occasional big lump of gravel-grit in the paste. But it is not even turned on the wheel: it is heavily and unmistakably hand-made, probably by the coil process. Finger-smear marks cover the interior, while the rough and uneven hand-dressing of the outer surface has included scraping down with a stiff twig-brush, the marks of which are visible running in all directions. The top and sides are as much as half an inch in average thickness, while the rim swells into a rolled lip $\frac{7}{8}$ in. thick, giving the whole a height of 8 in. The top being $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. across, while the mouth (externally) measures on average 17 in., the proportions were too awkward for the potter to succeed in making the rim a perfectly regular circle by hand. The restoration, carried out at the British Museum, is in all respects certain (pl. xxxvi, 2). The form, recalling that of a modern bread-bin lid, is not even remotely paralleled anywhere in its makers' repertory of market models: it must have been designed simply and solely as a serviceable cover for the water-jar. How well it fits is apparent from fig. 2, and all its surviving fragments—a high proportion of the whole—were found within the jar and nowhere else. In short, there can be no reasonable doubt that this home-made cover belonged to the earth-fast container of the Linwood East potters' private water-supply. And on its sloping sides one of them has drawn, on the moist clay before its firing, a free-hand design of three strange figures.

The figures (pls. xxxvii, xxxviii, and fig. 4), are rendered for the most part in broad strokes of the artist's finger, which has ploughed up the clay into rough lateral edges, and left compact wads sticking at the ends of the furrows. The finger is evidently a man's, with a stout inelegant nail which not only emphasized some of the strokes by grooving them down the middle, but also

came in usefully in places for narrower incisions—if these are not done with a sharp stick. Fortunately, breakage has done the figures relatively little damage. That on the right, a human form with outstretched arms, has indeed lost its lower limbs, save for what seems to be the tip of one foot; but the horseman cantering from the left on the opposite side has only suffered damage to his horse's face, while, except for some trifling mutilation at its lower end, the central figure is intact.



FIG. 4. Linwood: design on the jar-cover ($\frac{1}{3}$)

At first sight this central figure seems to be simply a decorative device, consisting of two units, each a sort of open heart-shape formed by an opposed pair of volute-headed curls, placed one above the other and set off by oval curves beneath and a mask-like triangle with two eyes at the top. But it is more than that. These heart-shapes with their crudely accentuated volutes are the members of a schematized human body, organically one with the beaked mask-head above and the curves for legs below. It is a female body: the upper pair of volutes suggest both breasts and shoulders, and then curve down inwards to meet like two folded arms, while the lower pair answer them as a pair of round haunch-like hips, curving down inwards in their turn to enclose a vulva indicated by a shallow \sim -shaped smear.

What does this weirdly imagined creature signify? It is

something altogether more portentous than the small supporting figures on either hand. They themselves are none too easily intelligible. It is perhaps allowable to take the one on the right for a man, though his legs and the lower part of his body are missing: but is he full-face or in profile? The outstretched arms, one ending in two, the other in three stiffly extended fingers, would by themselves suit either, but, viewed together with the leftward slant of the stick-like torso, they rather favour a profile, in vigorous movement to the left; the head too, with its one eye and its bulge to the left surmounting the smeared suggestions of a mouth, would suit this notion. But what are the two thick dabs of clay stuck one on each side of it, flanking its wildly bristling crest of hair? The left-hand one resembles a grotesquely mouse-like nose; if so, its fellow can only be taken for a knot of back hair, but if after all the head were full-face, these must be ears, and since the one eye is obviously intentional, the creature would become a sort of cyclops. The horseman on the opposite side is without such appendages—indeed, he has neither arms nor legs, though there are two slight finger-markings where his offside leg would appear against his steed's attenuated body. But though a single rein, uniting the animal's mouth to his own, alone does symbolic duty for his instruments of horsemanship, there is no doubt about the vigour of his riding. The essential poise and movement of a man on a cantering horse are caught in ten strokes and a jab of the finger—just as the right-hand figure, whatever one thinks of its detail, has in its crude, deft sketching the essential vitality of a man gesticulating with outstretched arms. And what is there familiar about that horse? The narrow body-line, the crook of one fore-pastern, the arch of the neck, the long-drawn-out curve of rump and flowing tail—it is impossible, despite the three straight legs and the missing face, not to recognize the authentic points of the White Horse of Uffington.¹ And if it be objected that it is absurd to compare that 360-foot giant with a miniature of 5 inches, one has only to remember the still smaller horse-model of bronze in the Reading Museum from Silchester, in which Mr. Stuart Piggott has rightly seen the work of a British craftsman of Roman times 'who might almost have had the White Horse in mind . . . the treatment of the body and legs is completely non-Roman in feeling: although improved by breeding in a more sophisticated stud, it still shows clear traces of the old stock'.² In our spindle-shanked nag, the sophistication has been almost bred out; but it has left the old stock as clearly traceable. And that old stock

¹ *Antiquity*, v (1931), 39.

² *Ibid.* 43, with pl. II, fig. 5.

is the stock of Celtic art. This child-like sketching, regardless of naturalism but conveying life and movement by instinctive exaggeration or elimination of nature, is surely Celtic through and through. To take one further point: the elimination of the rider's legs is closely paralleled in a bronze statuette of a trooper, found at Canterbury and now in the collection of Dr. Philip Nelson, F.S.A.,¹ where the Romano-Celtic style of the man recalls, e.g., the Brough sceptre-busts recently published in this *Journal*,² and the horse has almost the trumpet-muzzle of a Celtic coin-type.³ Such 'short-hand' figuring is the natural mark of a mentality bred from a tradition of abstract barbaric art, adjusting itself as best it may to concrete representation in the Roman mode. Even where its efforts are 'so rude and unskilful that . . . they hardly express anything at all', it can draw from that tradition a certain naïve vitality, as in the amusing pig-sticking scene at Chesters;⁴ and when as with our Linwood horseman we can pick up the unmistakable accents of the Celtic art of pre-Roman Britain, we cannot withhold recognition from its existence or its meaning.

If, then, we can offer no formal iconography for our barbaric pair of flanking figures, we have at least been able to give their barbarism its historical context, and that context is of even greater value when we turn once more to consider the mystic shape between them. For what is the extraordinary ambiguity between formal curves and human body but a typical expression of the same barbaric, abstract, Celtic tradition? For five centuries before the Roman conquest of Britain that tradition had run its course in western Europe, with its repertory of forms beginning with the transfusion of classical and oriental motives and leading ever further into pure curvilinear pattern. In its achievement one may recognize⁵ two recurrent features—ambiguity between design and field, between line as pattern and line as demarcation of field or mass, and the forming of organic unity by a balanced and elastic integration of parts which themselves are either meaningless bits of static shape, or mere disjointed fragments, of something which will not survive dismemberment. And, for all that it is a hasty finger-scrawl by a poor Romano-British potter of A.D. 300, these are exactly the characteristics of our

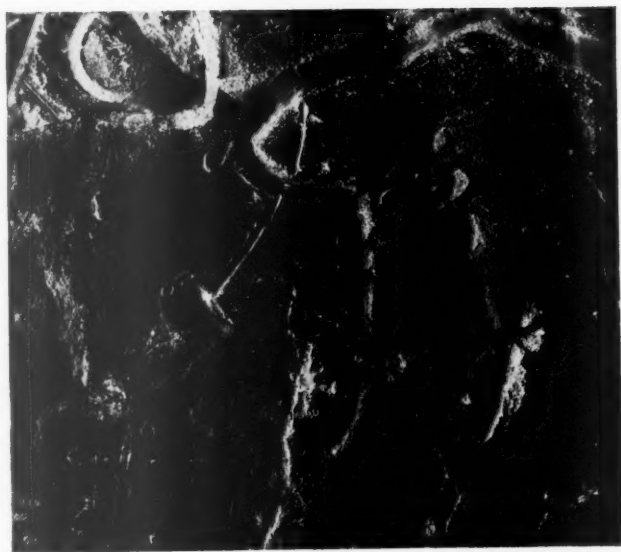
¹ Mr. T. D. Kendrick has kindly shown me a photograph.

² *Antiq. Journ.* xviii, 70-1, pls. xxx-xxx1.

³ e.g. *Archaeologia*, lii, 2, 372, pl. xiii, 2-5, 8.

⁴ Collingwood, *Roman Britain* (1923), 81.

⁵ Cf. Jacobsthal, *Die Antike*, x (1933), 17-45; *Burlington Mag.*, Sept. 1935, 113-27.



2
1
Linwood: (1) left-hand and (2) right-hand flanking figures in the jar-cover design. Scale 3/8



Linwood: central figure in the jar-cover design. Scale $\frac{3}{8}$

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central figure. The voluted heart-shapes which represent its body are just what the prehistoric Celt could make of a classical palmette,¹ and what his Romanized descendant was making, with the same tandem duplication, in the second century on the handle of the West Lothian patera.² In this simplified form, they are equally reminiscent of the leaf-and-scroll design on third-century Roman enamel-work,³ or indeed of what a Celtic mind might do with the braided guilloche of so many mosaic pavements;⁴ but the point is not what precisely they were adapted from, but the fact of their adaptation, static and disjointed, to present an abstract pattern-picture of a female body, which grows through them, in unity with the squatting leg-curves and mask head, into an unearthly, brooding life.

In short, the figure is not merely *like* Celtic art in certain respects: in its whole conception it *is* Celtic art. No other breeding-ground exists for such a fantasy. And if it be asked how and why, at the turn of the third and fourth centuries when Celtic art was officially dead, a New Forest potter should turn his hand to this sort of barbaric puzzle-picture, the answer can readily be found by reverting to the two earlier sections of this paper. In the first place, their chronology and style of work have shown every ground for believing that the potters who settled in the Forest owing to the economic collapse of the mid-third century brought there a craft-tradition going back without interruption to pre-Roman times, which they thereafter adapted successfully to the demands of the fourth-century market. Naturally that craft-tradition, in the service of their commercial output, left on one side spontaneous artistic expression. But this was not thereby necessarily suppressed out of existence, and if one had the chance one might expect to find it still alive among these people, in an equally traditional but quite secluded form of its own. In other words, a New Forest pottery would be peculiarly likely to furnish evidence of the continued survival of Celtic art, as an intimate inheritance among simple folk—evidence of especial significance in this period of transition about A.D. 300—if only one could come across one of its opportunities of expression. And here, where we evidently have come across one, the circumstances of the find itself explain and corroborate its occurrence.

¹ e.g. on the Witham shield: *B.M. Iron Age Guide*, 104, fig. 114.

² *P.S.A. Scot.* xix, 45–50, pl. 1. The patera is ascribed to a South-British workshop of that century by Mlle Henry in *Préhistoire*, ii. 1, 113–14 (with fig. 26, 3).

³ Mlle Henry, *ibid.* 142–6 (fig. 45, 4 and pl. 11, Gaul; fig. 46, 2, Silchester, and itself somewhat Celtic in character).

⁴ *B.M. Roman Britain Guide*, pl. xiii (border), &c.

Why should a potter want to decorate the home-made lid of his private water-jar with crude embodiments of an art-style handed down from his pre-Roman ancestors? The reason is not hard to see. The Celtic world, after just as before the conquests of Rome and later of Christianity, was for its inhabitants everywhere peopled by spirits and magic forces, small and localized as well as great and far-reaching. This is brought home vividly in archaeology by the presence in all sorts of associations among its antiquities of apotropaic masks and figures. When Celtic art first blossomed in the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C., it is an art alive with the symbols of magic and superstition. From every torc and brooch there glare and blink at one the apotropaic faces which protected their wearers against who knows what demons and evil eyes. And the same faces recur on the stone pillars which stood in sacred places in the Celtic Rhineland. Every spot and every material thing on which men and women depended for safety or sustenance would have its guardianship symbolized in one fashion or another. Springs of water had everywhere a sanctity of their own, and when the Linwood potter drew his water and stored it for the day's requirements in his earth-fast jar, he could not leave it unprotected from unseen malignancies which might curse it against good clay-puddling or the proper drying or firing of the pots on which his living depended. It had to have its apotropaic guardian; one could not delineate her form outright—that sort of image would be bad magic, but a beaked mask with two watching eyes would answer for her head, while her body could be cunningly rendered in a puzzle-pattern of the old, not yet forgotten sort. Such a wedding of mask and pattern had been first adopted on the late fourth-century B.C. torcs of Waldalgesheim;¹ those of the Marne people display the same device,² and one of their most famous scabbards³ shows the exactly analogous one of a scroll-necked, pattern-bodied bird-head, which became widespread in Britain in the second century B.C.⁴ And later, in the embossed heads from Stanwick,⁵ the curvilinear patterning invades the faces themselves, both of man and horse. The fact is that representation and abstract design could in the Celtic mind be fused in a single conception of talismanic significance, and it cannot be doubted that this reflects an

¹ *Burlington Mag.*, loc. cit. 118–20, pl. II, F; Déchelette, *Manuel*, iv, 838–9, fig. 582.

² e.g., *B.M. Iron Age Guide*, 61, fig. 59.

³ Cernon-sur-Coole: Déchelette, *op. cit.* 625, fig. 463, 2–2 a.

⁴ Leeds, *Celtic Ornament*, 6–11, with figs. 2 (Wandsworth shield-boss), 4 (Torr's champfrein), and 6.

⁵ *B.M. Iron Age Guide*, 141–2, figs. 158–9.

inextricable entwining of magic figure and magic pattern in the mysticism of Celtic superstition.¹ Our Linwood figure is Celtic, in virtue at once of the patterning of its form and of the mentality which the form makes manifest—as in Caesar's day *admodum dedita religionibus*.

If, with or without its strange supporters, it has any more precise affinities in the world of Celtic mythology, students of that fascinating subject will no doubt detect them. The present paper serves only to record the discovery, and to give it its due context in the topography of the Linwood East site, in the history and character of the New Forest potteries, and in the 'personality' of Roman Britain at large, its Romanization and its latent Celticism. For latent Celticism is surely just what this find reveals, and at a date and in a situation alike of unusual import. If in the Early period, it could be supposed to have died out with the fourth-century change in the industry; if in the Late period, it could be represented as a sign of a new 'Celtic revival'; but coming where it does in the Middle period about 300, associated with pottery in which Early and Late characters are mingled together, it may reasonably be assigned to a native inheritance which was handed on unbroken, behind the façade of Romanization, from pre-Roman times into the twilight which became the Dark Ages. And it is fitting that the find should have been made on a workshop-site of this New Forest pottery-industry, in which Haverfield's sure instinct long ago discerned, from the far more elusive clues in its normal trade production, the surviving artistry of the native Briton.

In conclusion, I have to express warm thanks to Col. and Mrs. Ogilvie for the great trouble they have taken in securing and handing on every scrap of evidence bearing on their discovery, and for much personal kindness when at their invitation I visited the site last September. While the second jar-find mentioned on p. 121 remains in their possession, they have presented the whole of the material here published to the British Museum. A cast of the decorated cover has been made for Salisbury Museum, and my gratitude is also due to Mr. Frank Stevens, F.S.A., its Director, who, on receiving the fragments from Col. Ogilvie for examination, first communicated the discovery to me, and followed up this kindness by arranging for them to be brought to London by Miss B. Gullick, Assistant in the same Museum, for restoration and further study. Mr. Stevens has also allowed me the use of the short memorandum

¹ Just as the analogous patterning of Germanic 'animal-art' reflects in its own way a different version of the same pagan mysticism.

on the find, previously drawn up in concert with Col. Ogilvie by Miss Gullick and himself from notes made on the spot. The points of this have been incorporated in the account here given and its authors have most kindly read and checked my proofs, as have Col. and Mrs. Ogilvie themselves. Mr. Heywood Sumner was happily not prevented by infirmity from going to Linwood and examining the finds with Col. Ogilvie, and I feel most fortunate in having had the benefit of his various notes upon them. Finally I am indebted to our Director, who first suggested my undertaking this paper, and in the last months of his Keepership at the British Museum gave me material facilities for carrying out the work.

Verulamium Again

By R. E. M. WHEELER, V.P.S.A.

THE excavation of Verulamium in the years 1930-4 originated in a coincidence of archaeological need and local opportunity. The former, at this late date, needs no elaboration; the latter, it may be recalled, lay in the acquisition, by the Borough of St. Albans, of the southern half of the walled site, now known to have taken shape in the second century A.D. A central area within the new Corporation property accordingly remained for three years the main focus of the excavations, supplemented by an intensive examination of the town-defences, including two wall-towers and three gateways, of which two lay on property retained by Lord Verulam.

Archaeologically, the problem confronting the excavators was twofold: to establish (for the first time) the outlines of the economic history of a major Romano-British town deep-set in the 'lowland zone'; and to determine the relationship, topographically and culturally, of the successive Belgic and Roman settlements. It was a familiar fact that Verulamium had held an important royal mint at the beginning of the first century A.D., and, whether the term *municipium* applied by Tacitus to the town in A.D. 61 be taken at face-value or no, the chance of observing the growth of a first-class Roman city out of a first-class pre-Roman one was unsurpassed on any other site. It was, therefore, essential that the exploration of a part of the Roman city should be accompanied by a systematic search for its predecessor.

Previous writers had guessed that the pre-Roman and Roman cities occupied the same site. Digging quickly disproved this, and attention was in turn directed to the 'Fosse' earthwork which emerges from the north-west of the walled town, and, when that failed us, to some uncharted earthworks in the dense game-coverts of Prae Wood, on the neighbouring plateau. These earthworks had first been detected by Mr. O. G. S. Crawford before our work began, and to him thus belongs the real credit of having discovered the visible vestiges of Belgic Verulamium. Subsequently the investigation of a related cross-country dyke led to extensive *sondages* in a large earthwork at Wheathampstead which, for structural and topographical reasons, was seen to form a part of the complex and, as events proved, was in fact a key to it. And finally, in our fourth year, as a necessary amplification of the three years' work in the southern part of the main Roman town, it

became unavoidable that an extensive trial should be made of the central area. This was done by the re-excavation of the theatre and by the exploration of an adjacent temple-insula—both structures closely adjoining the central forum group and both, incidentally, within the area of the earlier Roman city. Since 1934 some further work has been done close to the forum in connexion with modern building.

Such in bare outline was the former plan of campaign. Now as to future work. By way of preface, the results of 1930-4 may be tabulated as follows:

1. By area-digging and by extensive trenching, the economic vicissitudes of the southern third of the Roman walled town have been for present purposes sufficiently determined. No new work here is in contemplation.

2. The different story presented by the central portion of the town has been partly told in and about the theatre by a considerable mass of evidence, which in particular indicates an intensive fourth-century occupation absent from the southern area.

3. By five wide and complete sections and by a dozen partial sections, productive of extensive ceramic evidence, the structural relationship of the Fosse to the later Roman town, and its approximate date (third quarter of first century A.D.), have been amply determined. There is no doubt that the Fosse represents a part of the framework of the early Roman town.

4. A long series of extensive cuttings proved that the Prae Wood earthworks are of two dates, both within the half-century preceding the Roman occupation. A further series of cuttings (about fifty, all told) revealed, by trial and error, that the main Prae Wood ditch had continued southwards for over 1,000 yards through fields which now show no superficial indication of it. The plan had been bisected and terminated by palisades at right angles with the line of the earthwork, the terminal palisade being sinuous as though to conform with the irregular margin of the woodland-clearing. Earthwork and palisades together imply a large enclosure or enclosures (just as three walls at right angles to one another imply a room), and the whole system was doubtless completed towards the south-west by intact woodland, the main artificial defence being on the (geologically) more open hill-side towards the north-east. The result would be a large enclosure of similar length and, likely enough, of approximately similar width to the second century Roman city; i.e. an enclosure from 150 to 200 acres in extent.

5. Within this large Belgic enclosure, it need not be supposed that the whole surface was covered with habitations, as were the

smaller areas of some at least of our south-western *oppida*. Caesar, on the contrary, describing just such sites as Belgic Verulamium, remarks their use as a refuge alike for men and for cattle. Excavation in 1931-3 suggested that our site had in fact fulfilled this dual role. An area of 4,000 square yards was systematically cleared behind the Prae Wood defences and was found to be seamed with drainage-ditches literally filled with occupation-débris, as during the height of this work it was not uncommon for one or even two oat-sacks full of Belgic pottery to be brought away daily. Beside certain of the ditches were remains of cooking-ovens; but, for the rest, the loose sandy soil hereabouts had been completely riddled with tree- and shrub-roots and, above all, by the dense crop of bracken which makes the wood a veritable jungle in summertime. Nothing is more destructive than bracken-roots of vestiges such as post-holes; and even on an open Belgic site such as that excavated with the utmost skill by Mr. Hawkes and his colleagues at Colchester, the structural remains of hutments were, I understand, slight and almost irrecoverable. Certain it is that the Prae Wood site, cleared slowly and with infinite care and patience by Mr. Dermot Casey, had held Belgic huts but retained no definitely recognizable vestiges of their timbering. A smaller area cleared in 1932 by Mr. Huntly Gordon near Prae Wood Farm showed similar evidence of ill-defined but abundant occupation. On the other hand, farther south in Pond Field, nearer the centre of the complex, a smaller area, cleared by Mr. Casey, yielded but slight evidences of occupation and may have been entirely devoid of hutments.

This patchiness is exactly what we are learning to expect on a Belgic site. A typical Belgic *oppidum* may turn out to have consisted in the main of a congeries of separate hut-clusters, united within a more or less defined territory but lacking the coherence of a Wessex *oppidum*. In the latter, the fields and herds were wholly or largely extra-mural; in the former, the fenced area was liable to include at least some considerable part of the nearer farm-lands. This is not the context to consider the interesting divergences between eastern and western *oppida*, nor is the time yet fully ripe; but the matter is one which will in due course deserve a full discussion.

Such, in barest outline, was the nature of our results in 1930-4. At the end of that period a halt was called, not because the work of excavation had reached completion but because of the imminence of a new and minatory factor—the proposed building of a 100-foot arterial by-pass road right through the Belgic and Roman sites. This devastating scheme had been mooted at the

end of 1930; by 1934 the battle between the various interests concerned was in full swing, and this battle raged with the utmost ferocity until 1937. Throughout those critical years the Verulamium Excavation Committee was threatened with the prospect of an emergency-dig estimated to cost, at the minimum, £5,000. At the same time it was unable to proceed with the work until the line of the proposed road was fixed, and, so far from that, the official maps were increasingly covered with alternative routes which only shared the certainty that they would alike destroy a considerable part of Verulamium and wreck one of the pleasantest surviving fragments of country in the outskirts of London.

All the various routes under discussion included the main axis of the southern half of the Belgic site. When, therefore, the outline of the artificial framework of this region was completely recovered by excavation (spring, 1934), further exploration of the interior of the site was deferred until the blow should fall. The original layout of the by-pass road also traversed from side to side the projecting triangular portion of the earlier Roman town within the Fosse: the exploration of the early town was therefore similarly postponed. Every subsequent modification of the road-plan included some part of the early Roman site within its compass, and those who, like the excavators themselves, desired more light upon this feature, awaited the final decision with a mixture of hope and apprehension. Later, even the centre of the second Roman town was brought within the scheme, and a tentative route beside the Roman forum was actually marked on the ground.

Now at last, thanks largely to the determined agitation of Lord Verulam, the new road has been moved lock, stock, and barrel out of the Verulamium landscape. Where it has gone to is no concern of the Verulamium Excavation Committee's; but what *is* that Committee's concern now is to fill gradually and systematically those gaps which for more than five years it expected to fill tempestuously and feverishly. Here at last in the south of England is a proper rival to the Hadrian's Wall of the north, a new instrument for keeping archaeologists out of mischief. If all goes as it should, for some time to come small-scale digs may profitably proceed in the Verulamium complex year by year, supplying alike a convenient training-ground for the young and a means of filling in the archaeological and historical outlines established in the earlier excavations.

A beginning will be made during the present spring, when the examination of the *insula* east of the theatre will be undertaken by the Committee. This *insula* has the threefold advantage that it is known to contain a Roman building of considerable preten-

sion; that it lies near the centre of the town and should throw further light on the problem of the late Roman occupation; and that it is included within the area of the earlier Roman town (the 'Fosse' town) and may be expected to add to our knowledge of the initial Roman phase. The work will be carried out with the ever-ready permission of Lord Verulam, and with funds which, it is hoped, may be forthcoming from our Fellows and from the generous and long-suffering public. The Treasurer of the Verulamium Excavation Committee is Mr. C. E. Jones, F.S.A., Warners, Russell Avenue, St. Albans.

Postscript.—When this note was already in page-proof, an interesting review, by Mr. J. N. L. Myres, of the Verulamium Report (1936) appeared in *Antiquity* (March 1938). Mr. Myres and I were writing entirely without each other's knowledge, although my note is in effect an answer to his demand for further excavation. In making that demand, he was unaware alike of the conditions under which the main Verulamium excavations were suspended and of the long-considered plans for their renewal, but his commentary, if debatable in detail, is a timely reinforcement of the present proposal.

A Portrait of Beatrix of Falkenburg

By S. H. STEINBERG

AMONG the many treasures of art preserved by Sir William Burrell at Hutton Castle, Berwick-on-Tweed, is a stained-glass window which is likely to arouse the interest of English historians and historians of art. It represents Beatrix of Falkenburg, wife of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, King of the Romans and brother of King Henry III; and it is a very valuable example of English art of the thirteenth century.

Unfortunately, the provenance of this panel cannot be traced back farther than to the beginning of the nineteenth century. At that time it appears in the collection of stained glass which the 6th Baron Stafford (1736-1809) brought together with the assistance of his two sons, viz. the 8th Baron Stafford and William Charles Jerningham, and for the reception of which he caused a chapel to be expressly built at his estate of Costessey, Norfolk. The ample catalogue of the Costessey collection, compiled by the late Maurice Drake, gives a lively impression of the fine taste of the purchasers and of the artistic value of their treasures. Owing to the lack of any records, the catalogue does not refer, however, to the previous owners of the panels: the era of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars was admittedly no good time for too intimate inquiries as to the former owners of the works of art which were then thrown upon the market. Nor is any hint to be gathered from the other items of the Stafford collection: there are panels of English as well as of German, French, Flemish, and, above all, of quite uncertain provenance.

In view of these unsatisfactory conditions, we cannot but start from the picture itself. It shows (to quote the description given by the late M. Drake) 'a female figure, kneeling in an attitude of prayer. Her outer robe is striped ruby and black, and lined vair. Sleeves of under-robe green. White head-dress over coif, which is painted on same piece of flesh-coloured glass as the face. Yellow crown. Background blue with diaper of black eagles on circles of yellow. She kneels on a pavement of red bricks.' The inscription above the figure, on greenish white glass, has not been correctly deciphered by Mr. Drake; it runs literally: 'BEATRIX DE VALKENBURCH REGINA ALLEMANNIE'.

This Beatrix of Falkenburg was the daughter of a Rhenish count in the diocese of Cologne called Dietrich of Falkenburg. He was a near relative of Archbishop Engelbert II of Cologne,



Stained-glass panel representing Beatrix of
Falkenburg

By kind permission of Sir William Burrell

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and, like other members of his family, an ardent partisan of the kingdom of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the clever and skilful brother of King Henry III of England. Regarding his and his brother's power and reputation, and their relationship to the late Emperor Otto IV, who had been their uncle, the majority of the German princes who felt themselves entitled to elect their king elected Richard 'King of the Romans', i.e. German king, in 1257. By internal troubles in this country Richard was prevented, however, from staying permanently in Germany. He went over only thrice, for a few months each time, but his abilities and his resources were strong enough to secure peace and order in all those western and southern parts of Germany where his government was established. It is a mistake to pass over his reign with a few limp words, as German historians usually do: Richard had at least the same power at his command as some of his predecessors on, or successors to, the German throne.

Richard's first wife had been an English lady, Isabella Marshal, who died in 1240, and by whom he had three sons and one daughter. But only one of them, Henry of Almaine, came of age; it is well known that he was afterwards murdered by the Montforts, in 1271. The second time Richard married Princess Sanchia of Provence, by whom he had two sons, only the younger of whom, Edmund (*b.* 1250), survived his father. He died in 1300, and with him the legitimate issue of Richard became extinct.

When Richard went to his German kingdom for the last time, in August 1268, he had just lost his second wife. Shortly afterwards he became engaged to the young and beautiful daughter of his follower, Dietrich of Falkenburg. This union with the heiress of one of the noblest and most powerful of their families strengthened the attachment of his faithful adherents in the Rhineland to Richard. Count Dietrich himself, Richard's father-in-law, paid the penalty for his loyalty to the king by eventually giving his life for him in a riot at Cologne in October 1268.

The gorgeous ceremonies of the marriage of Richard and Beatrix took place at Kaiserslautern in the Palatinate on 16th June 1269. Shortly afterwards, in the last days of July, King Richard crossed the Channel with his bride. Neither of them ever returned to Germany.

King Richard died at Berkhamstead on 2nd April 1272, leaving no issue by Beatrix.¹ She continued to reside permanently

¹ Besides Richard's children mentioned above, he had three natural children by unknown mistresses, viz. Richard, who became the ancestor of the knightly families of the Cornwalls called Barons of Burford in Shropshire; Walter; and Isabel, who married Maurice of Berkeley.

in this country, and we meet her on various occasions in documents of her nephew, King Edward I, who ordered his servants to provide her with maintenance from the royal manors, etc. It is remarkable that Beatrix is styled in all these documents 'Regina Alemanniae', just as she is called on the stained-glass panel in question, though it is incorrect; it ought to run 'Regina Romanorum'. The English obviously did not bother about the correct form of this foreign title. It seems that Beatrix was not on the same good terms with her step-son Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, for in 1277 she applied to a *curia Christianitatis*, i.e. an ecclesiastical tribunal, with regard to *catallis et debitis aliquibus* which she was anxious to get from him. King Edward, in accordance with his policy, which was hostile to the ecclesiastical tribunals, intervened and prohibited her appeal to any other than to a royal court of justice.

A few weeks after this document was issued, Beatrix died in *vigilia Lucae evangelistae*, i.e. on 17th October 1277. She was buried in the Franciscan Church in Oxford *pro magno altari*, where also the heart of her late husband had been interred, whilst his body rests by the side of his second wife and his son Henry, at Hayles Abbey.¹

There can be scarcely any doubt that the panel in question, showing the figure of the queen, was given or bequeathed by her to that convent in Oxford. It may have been accompanied by a more material gift, as often occurs, for masses *pro salute animarum*, for the benefit of Richard's and her own soul, either during her lifetime after her husband's death, or as her bequest to that church, which had been built with the support of Richard, where she wished to be buried side by side with his heart.

There are, indeed, other reminders of Richard's predilection for Oxfordshire. The imperial eagle, black on a gold ground, the symbol of Richard's German kingdom, which is to be found on Beatrix's panel, also 'occurs frequently round Oxford, on tiles as well as glass', e.g. on the frescoes at Southleigh (cf. E. S. Bouchier, *Notes on the Stained Glass of the Oxford District*, pp. 3 and 96). Of the Oxford Franciscan Church, however, we have no description until 1480, when William of Worcester gave a rather vague account of it. Even his superficial phrases allude to the windows several times. Unfortunately the church has been demolished, and its contents have been scattered. It seems to be good luck that we are now able to attribute to it, at least, the

¹ A short biography of 'Beatrice of Falkenburg, the third wife of Richard of Cornwall' by F. L. Lewis has recently been published in the *Engl. Hist. Rev.* lii, 1937, 279-82.

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portrait of the wife of its royal founder. At all events, the date of that panel can be fixed 'about 1275', so that we gain a very early date for a work of the Oxford school of glass-painters. According to C. H. Grinling's paper on 'Ancient stained glass in Oxford' (*Proc. Oxford Archit. and Hist. Soc.*, n.s. iv. 1880-5, pp. 111-84), the first stained glass windows in that part of this country are those at Merton College Chapel, dated 1283, showing the kneeling donor, Master Henry de Mamesfeld. It would appear, therefore, that the Beatrix panel is not only the earliest existing production of the Oxford school of glass-painters which achieved such remarkable results in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but is also of great interest as a contemporary portrait of a thirteenth-century Countess of Cornwall who happened, at the same time, to be Queen of the Romans.

Dragonesque Brooches and their Development

By WILLIAM BULMER

AMONG the many brooches which have been found at Corstopitum, six specimens are recorded of the S-shaped or dragonesque type, which in its fully developed form has been well described as one of the finest examples of Romano-Celtic art.¹ The type occurs predominantly in the military districts of Roman Britain (cf. distribution map, fig. 1). Over 75 per cent. of the known examples have been found north of a line joining the Severn and the Humber, but even in this area only one site, Traprain Law, has yielded so many examples as Corstopitum, and of the six found at Traprain only two were complete, and one was a mere fragment. The Corstopitum brooches,² while having in common the S-shaped or dragonesque outline, differ so much in other details as to invite the consideration of their mutual relationship and their respective places in the development of the type.

The material for this consideration can be found in the first place in the lists of brooches of this pattern which have been published already. J. Romilly Allen gave eleven examples in the list he published in *The Reliquary* in 1907. R. A. Smith increased the total to seventeen in the following year,³ and a revised list was given by Haverfield in 1909.⁴ In this list the number of British examples remains at seventeen, but the previous lists are corrected in several important particulars.

Professor R. G. Collingwood, in his paper on Romano-Celtic Art in Northumbria in the eightieth volume of *Archaeologia*, points out the Braughing example as the parent of the type, and outlines its development in discussing five datable examples of varying design. As the material available has now increased from seventeen to forty-eight British examples, it seems possible to attempt to work out the evolution of the type in more detail, and to classify the various groups into which these brooches may be divided.

Beginning with the Braughing brooch, assigned to the period of the Claudian invasion, the evolution of the unenamelled examples can be followed for a short distance (fig. 2), after which no very clear connexion is apparent among the remaining examples. The

¹ R. G. Collingwood, *Archaeology of Roman Britain*, p. 260.

² Nos. 8 and 11, fig. 2; C.2, D.5, and G.2, fig. 3; H.1, fig. 4.

³ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.*, xxii, 61.

⁴ *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 3rd series, v, 420.

affinities of nos. 5 and 11, especially about the 'head', with the well-known Lakenheath brooch¹ may be noted, but this brooch, perhaps the most beautiful example of the dragonesque motif, seems to stand as far from the general line of development as its find-spot does from the sites on which the other brooches have



FIG. 1. The distribution of Dragonesque Brooches in Britain

been discovered. In the same way, the S-brooches, nos. 8 and 9, are outside the general development, although they may have influenced the otherwise isolated example from South Shields (no. 12). The relationship between the Braughing example and the most primitive enamelled brooch, no. 4, is much clearer (fig. 3). The replacement of the three spots of enamel on no. 4 by a few square or oblong cloisons gives the first clearly defined group

¹ No. 7, fig. 2.

(C) of four examples. A brooch with a double row of cloisons, the terminal ones being slightly lengthened (no. 10), is intermediate between this group and group D, which has four square cloisons between four curved, tapering terminal ones.

From this type there are two lines of development: the substitution of a circular motif for the central squares gives the comparatively rare group H (fig. 4), which appears to be confined to

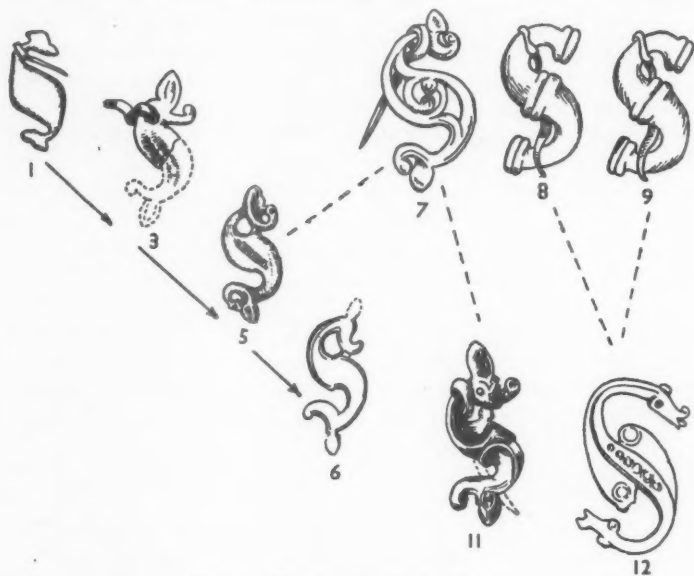


FIG. 2. The unenamelled brooches

the Tyne Gap and southern Scotland; but the main line of development consists in the replacement of the squares by two, or more commonly three lozenges, as in groups E and F. In the latter group the terminal curved cloisons with the semicircles at their bases, of group E, develop into trumpet motifs. This group, with its compact outline and beautifully proportioned decoration, marks the highest artistic development of the type. Its connexion with the succeeding group G is clear, the intermediate brooches, nos. 15 and 16, with their single row of lozenges and degenerate spirals, forming a sub-group F/G. Group G shows every indication of the beginning of decadence, in the unnecessary multiplication of the central lozenges, and the decay of the trumpet motifs into meaningless curves and isolated circles.

The development of the type, as here indicated, leads from

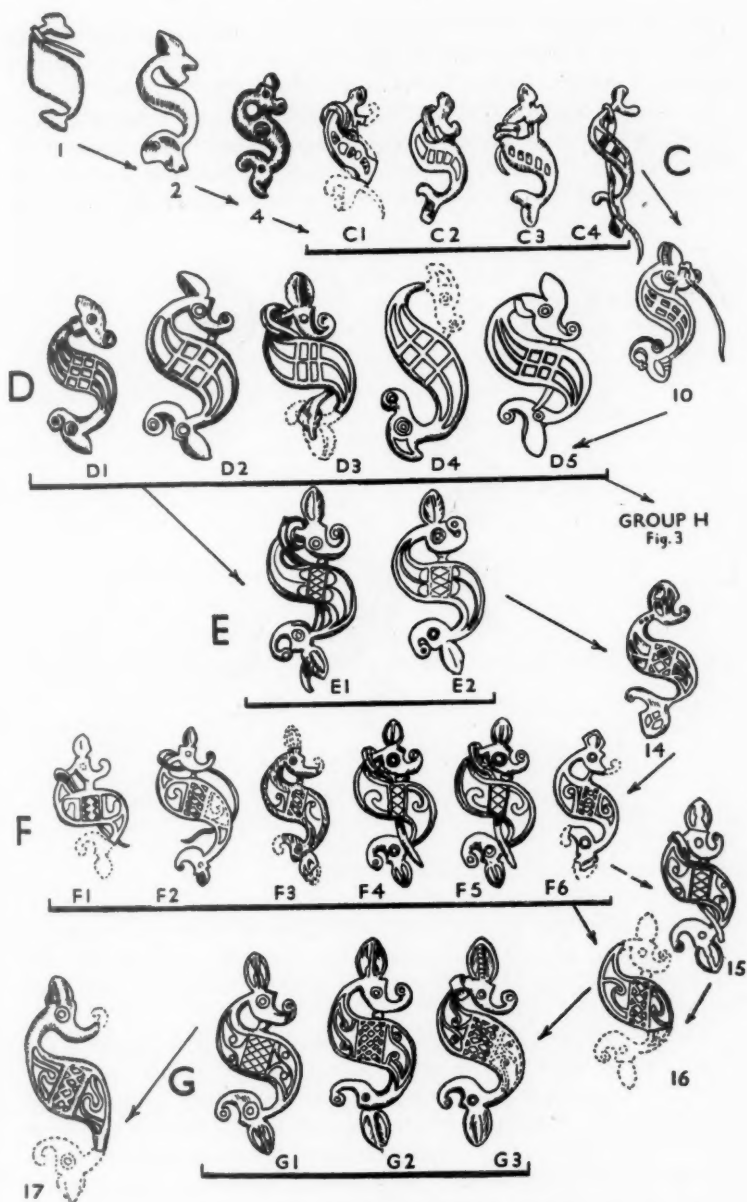


FIG. 3. The main line of development

primitive examples through others of increasing excellence of design and workmanship to examples with clearly marked evidence of artistic decay; but a rigid chronological significance is not claimed for this typology as, no doubt, many of these groups must have been in use or even in manufacture at the same time. Bearing this in mind, we may take the following as a rough chronology of the type on the evidence at present available: The

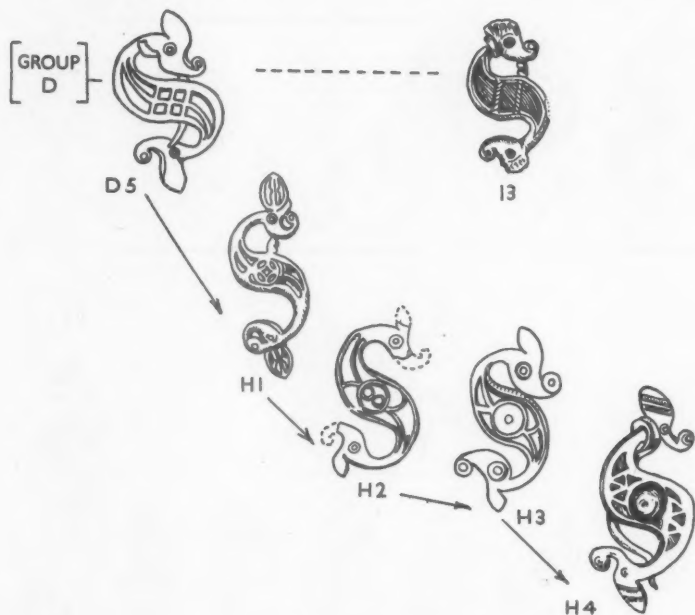


FIG. 4. Group H

earliest specimens belong to the middle of the first century, groups C and D to its close, and the remaining groups to the first half of the second century, as the type seems not to have been made after about A.D. 150.

It is curious that this characteristic and attractive dragonesque design was so little used in other examples of Romano-Celtic art; but with the exception of two bone ear-picks with dragonesque handles in the Guildhall Museum, and two similar handles in the London Museum, it seems to have been confined to these brooches and to have ceased with them. An echo, rather than a revival, of the design appears in the somewhat rare continental brooches of the migration period, illustrated in Baldwin Brown's

Arts in Early England, iii, pl. 48, no. 7, and in the *Catalogue of the St. Germain Museum*, ii, 302, fig. 170, no. 57313.

My debt to Professor Collingwood's paper in *Archaeologia* for the chronology of the type is apparent throughout these notes. I have also to thank Mr. J. D. Cowen, F.S.A., for information and advice which have been of great service in writing this account. Thanks are also due to the following: Mr. E. Bailey, Chief Librarian of South Shields Public Libraries, for permission to publish no. 16; Dr. W. Collinge, F.S.A., Director of the Yorkshire Museum, for permission to publish nos. F. 2, G. 3 and 20; Miss Cumpston of Barton Hall, Pooley Bridge, for a sketch of no. 14; Mr. T. Gray, Director of Tullie House Museum, Carlisle, for permission to publish no. H. 3; Mr. Q. Waddington, F.S.A., Assistant Curator of the Guildhall Museum, for a sketch of no. C. 4 and permission to publish it; the Prehistoric Subcommittee of the North of England Excavation Committee, for permission to publish no. H. 2; and the Trustees of the Corbridge Excavation Fund, for permission to publish no. G. 2.

LIST OF DRAGONESQUE BROOCHES

The following abbreviations are employed:

A.A.3 = *Archaeologia Aeliana*, third series.

R.C.A.N. = Collingwood, 'Romano-Celtic Art in Northumbria', in *Archaeologia*, lxxx, 1930, p. 37 et seq.

An asterisk * preceding a number in the list indicates that the item is not illustrated in the accompanying figures.

1. Braughing, Hertfordshire. Ashmolean Museum. *R.C.A.N.* p. 53: 'little, if at all, later than the Claudian invasion.'
2. Meols, Hoylake, Cheshire, first example. Hume, *Antiquities from the Sea Coast of Cheshire*, 1863, pl. 3, no. 8.
3. Traprain Law, East Lothian, first example. National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* xlix, 169.
4. Victoria Cave, Settle, Yorkshire, second example. *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.* i, 1872, frontispiece.
5. Watercrock, Kendal, Westmorland. *Reliquary*, xiii, 1907, p. 63.
6. Traprain Law, East Lothian, sixth example. National Museum, Edinburgh. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* lvi, 232, 250.
7. Lakenheath, Mildenhall, Suffolk. *Reliquary*, xiii, 1907, p. 62; Leeds, *Celtic Ornament*, p. 107; *V.C.H. Suffolk*, i, 271.
8. Corbridge, Northumberland, fourth example. *A.A.3*, vii, 188, cf. *V.C.H. Derbyshire*, i, 239.
9. Victoria Cave, Settle, Yorkshire, third example. British Museum. *Collectanea Antiqua*, i, pl. 27; *V.C.H. Derbyshire*, i, 239 (illustration only). *R.C.A.N.* p. 53: 'some of the brooches contained in these caves are Flavian and this may be of the same period.'

- C. 1. Caernarvon, Caernarvonshire. Wheeler, *Segontium*, p. 134. *R.C.A.N.* p. 53: 'about A.D. 100.'
- C. 2. Corbridge, Northumberland, third example. *A.A.3*, vii, 186.
- C. 3. Meols, Hoylake, Cheshire, second example. Hume, *Antiquities*, &c., pl. 3, no. 10.
- C. 4. Tokenhouse Yard, London. Guildhall Museum. Unpublished.
- *C. 5. Borness Cave, Kirkcudbrightshire. National Museum, Edinburgh. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* lxi, 373. A mere fragment, undoubtedly from a brooch of Group C.
10. Cirencester, Gloucestershire, first example. Corinium Museum. Buckman and Newmarch, *Roman Art*, 1850, p. 108.
11. Corbridge, Northumberland, first example. *A.A.3*, v, 403.
12. South Shields, County Durham, first example. Black Gate Museum, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. *A.A.3*, iv, 357 (illustration only).
- D. 1. Charterhouse on Mendip, Somerset. Bristol Museum. *V.C.H. Somerset*, i, 337.
- D. 2. Lamberton Moor, Berwickshire. National Museum, Edinburgh. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.* xxii, 59; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* xxxix, 373. *R.C.A.N.* p. 54: 'ascribed to the early second century, and as an estimate this can hardly be bettered, but it is not susceptible of proof.'
- D. 3. Victoria Cave, Settle, Yorkshire, first example. *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.* i, 1872, frontispiece.
- D. 4. Thirst House Cave, Buxton, Derbyshire. *Journ. Derbys. Arch. Soc.* xvi, 1894, p. 185.
- D. 5. Corbridge, Northumberland, fifth example. *A.A.3*, xii, p. 244.
13. Newstead, Melrose, Roxburghshire, second example. National Museum, Edinburgh. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* lxi, 398.
14. Kirkby Thore, Westmorland. In the collection of Miss Cumpston, Barton Hall, Pooley Bridge. Archaeological Institute, *Proceedings of the York Meeting*, 1846, pp. 7, 35.
- E. 1. Norton, Malton, Yorkshire. Arch. Inst. *York Meeting*, 1846, pp. 7, 35; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.*, xxii, 59; Allen, *Celtic Art*, p. 100.
- E. 2. Newstead, Melrose, Roxburghshire, first example. National Museum, Edinburgh. Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post*, p. 319.
- F. 1. Deanery Field, Chester, Cheshire. *Annals of Archaeology & Anthropology*, xv, pl. 7, no. 3, where it is assigned to the closing years of the second century or the beginning of the third; this seems a very late date for the type to occur.
- F. 2. York (?), Yorkshire, first example. Yorkshire Museum. Unpublished, but included in the list in *A.A.3*, v, 422.
- F. 3. Traprain Law, East Lothian, fifth example. National Museum, Edinburgh. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* lvi, 232, 250.
- F. 4 and F. 5. Faversham, Kent. Victoria and Albert Museum. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.* xxii, 59; de Baye, *Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons*, 1893, p. 44. A pair connected by a light chain.
- F. 6. Templebrough, Rotherham, Yorkshire. May, *The Roman Forts at Templebrough*, 1922, p. 71.
15. Wroxeter, Shropshire. *Excavations at Wroxeter in 1914*, pl. 16, no. 9.

16. South Shields, co. Durham, second example. Public Library, South Shields. Unpublished.
- G. 1. Unknown origin. British Museum. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.* xxii, 59; Allen, *Celtic Art*, p. 100.
- G. 2. Corbridge, Northumberland, sixth example. Unpublished.
- G. 3. York (?), Yorkshire, second example. Yorkshire Museum. Unpublished, but included in the list in *A.A.3*, v, 422.
17. Richborough, Kent. *Excavations at Richborough*, iii, pl. 9, no. 12.
- H. 1. Corbridge, Northumberland, second example. *A.A.3*, v, 403.
- H. 2. Milking Gap, Bardon Mill, Northumberland. Unpublished.
- H. 3. Stanwix, Carlisle, Cumberland. Tullie House Museum, Carlisle. Unpublished. Found in the material filling the Vallum ditch on Greeny Bank, Rickerby Park, Stanwix, in 1934.
- H. 4. Castle Hill, Dalry, Ayrshire. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* liii, 129 (where it is assigned to the end of the first century, on account of its association with a piece of Samian pottery of form 18. But the illustration shows that the form is really 31, so that a mid-second century date is more likely. I have to thank Mr. I. A. Richmond, F.S.A., for drawing my attention to this illustration).
- *18. Traprain Law, East Lothian, fifth example. National Museum, Edinburgh. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* liv, 65. Very corroded, and the enamel is lost; probably belonging to Group F.
- *19. Traprain Law, East Lothian, third example. National Museum, Edinburgh. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* liv, 63. Also in very poor condition, only a part of the brooch remaining; perhaps of Group C.
- *20. York (?), Yorkshire. Yorkshire Museum. Unpublished, but included in the list in *A.A.3*, v, 422. Very badly corroded, but probably of Group F.
- *21. Traprain Law, East Lothian, second example. National Museum, Edinburgh. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* xlix, 169. Only a fragment of the 'head' remains; the brooch is probably of Group G.
- *22. Brough under Stainmore, Westmorland. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.*, 2nd ser., iii, 256.
- *23. Cirencester, Gloucestershire, second example. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* liv, 65, footnote. In the collection of (the late) Mrs. Cripps; this may be the same brooch as no. 10, but no illustration of it or of no. 21 seems to be available.
- *24. Dowkerbottom Cave, Wharfedale, Yorkshire. British Museum. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.*, 1st ser., iv, 111. This is apparently the same brooch as no. 9 above, from the Victoria Cave; cf. *A.A.3*, v, 423.

The Bleasdale Circle

By W. J. VARLEY, M.A., F.S.A.

DISCOVERY AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

BLEASDALE Circle was discovered in 1898 by Messrs. Thomas Kelsall and Shadrach Jackson and excavated by them in the period 1898-1900, their work being reported upon by Professor Sir William Boyd Dawkins in the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society* of 1900. Upon the conclusion of these excavations the site was planted with conifers and rhododendrons, and the posts of the inner ring (pl. XLVI) were raised to the surface of the ground adjacent to their original holes (pl. XLIII, 1). In 1925, when the site was scheduled as an Ancient Monument, these oak posts had almost completely rotted and the site had become covered with dense undergrowth. Since it was suspected that the published plans were not strictly accurate, and as it was known that the whole of the site had not been excavated, it was decided to combine re-excavation with an attempt at preservation of what was left of the circle. A 'Bleasdale Preservation Committee' was formed, and with funds raised by public subscription the work of re-excavation was carried out under the direction of the author in the Easters of 1933-5, by kind permission of the owner, Mr. W. J. Sharp, the tenant, Mr. Edward Kelsall (son of the original discoverer), and H.M. Office of Works.

POSITION AND GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

Bleasdale Circle lies in the centre of a peat moss known as Edmarsh which occupies the summit of a gently rounded plateau situated between two head streams of the river Brock (see fig. 1) at the foot of Fairsnape Fell, the western rampart of the Forest of Bowland. The river Brock is a tributary of the river Wyre which flows into the Irish Sea at Fleetwood, from which place Bleasdale lies some fourteen miles due east.

The Brock is separated by only a low col from a tributary of the Loud, which drains into the Hodder, a tributary of the Ribble. Bleasdale is thus in contact with one of the easy ways through the Pennines and with that vast area of grit moorlands which constitute those hills in this region. It will be shown later that both these facts are of some significance.

The geographical setting of Bleasdale Circle (fig. 2) is of special interest, for whereas the precise relationship of human

artifacts and habitation-sites to peat horizons has been studied by the Fenland Research Committee,¹ little work of this kind has been done in the north-west, despite the facts that peat mosses cover large tracts of both the lowlands and uplands in Lancashire, and that some of these peat mosses have yielded Bronze Age artifacts.² The moss of Edmarsh in which Bleasdale Circle lies is small in area and shallow in depth in comparison with the mosses of the upper fells or of the Lancashire plain. It forms an unreclaimed island in a tract of improved grassland and is separated

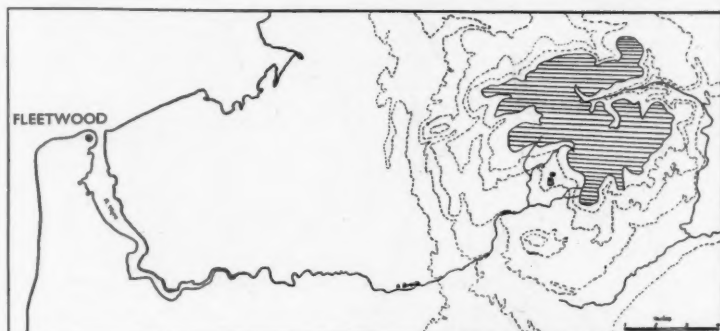


FIG. 1. Geographical position of Bleasdale Circle (B); land over 1,000 ft. shaded to indicate the Forest of Bowland

from the bare peats of the Fells by a considerable stretch of *nardus-molinia*-fern grassland. The primary cause of the formation of the Edmarsh peat is poor drainage because of the absence of streams which have not yet eaten their way back from the Brock to drain the little plateau on which the circle stands. The tenacious Boulder-clay subsoil has further assisted the process by its water-holding properties and its deficiency in mineral salts. The important question, however, is the relationship of the Circle to the peat, which is demonstrated in fig. 3. Here it is plain that the oak posts of the outer palisade were put into a clay soil which has a profile indicative of its development under forest-cover, and it is equally clear that the peat of Edmarsh has formed since the Circle was erected, for it overlies the clay upcast from the original post-holes. Pollen analysis of the Edmarsh peat (see fig. 4) reveals the proximity of a woodland dominated by hazel and alder, but containing birch and mixed deciduous wood-

¹ *Antiq. Journ.*, April 1933, pp. 453 ff.

² J. Wilfrid Jackson, 'Archaeology of Lancs. and Cheshire', *Trans. Lancs. and Chesh. Ant. Soc.*, 1 (1936), 65 ff.

land (oak, elm, and lime). It is not unreasonable to suppose, therefore, that Bleasdale Circle was erected in the middle of a

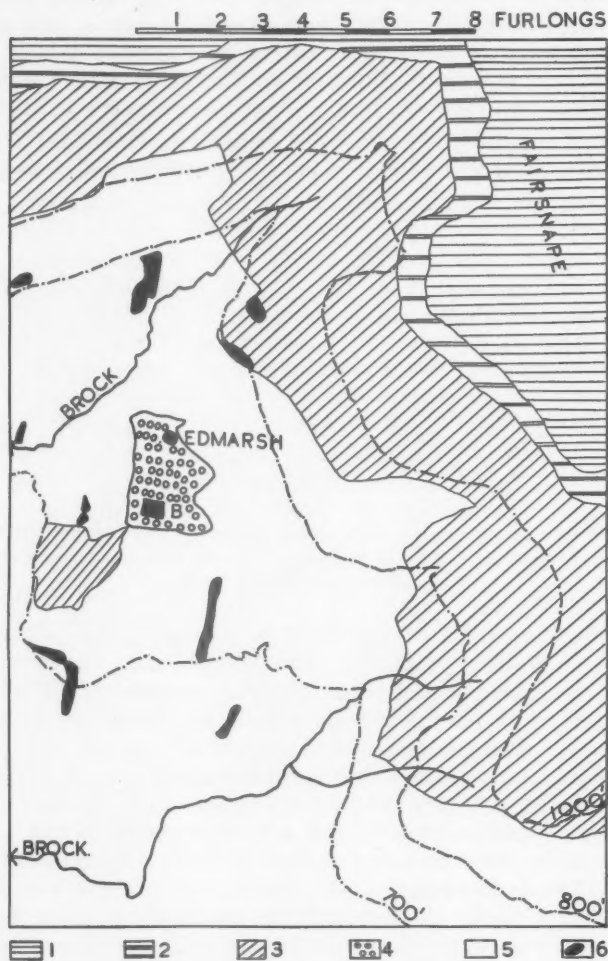


FIG. 2. The Geographical setting of Bleasdale Circle (B)

1, Bare peat; 2, ericaceous associations; 3, *nardus-molinia*-fern; 4, shallow-cotton-grass peat; 5, improved grassland; 6, plantations

deciduous woodland, and that oak and birch trees used in its construction were found growing there. Concrete posts were substituted for the oak posts and the mound rebuilt.

METHOD OF EXCAVATION

The whole of the inner structure, i.e. the area within the penannular ditch (pls. xlii, 2, and xlv), was cleared of rhododendrons and conifers; the limits of the ditch were determined

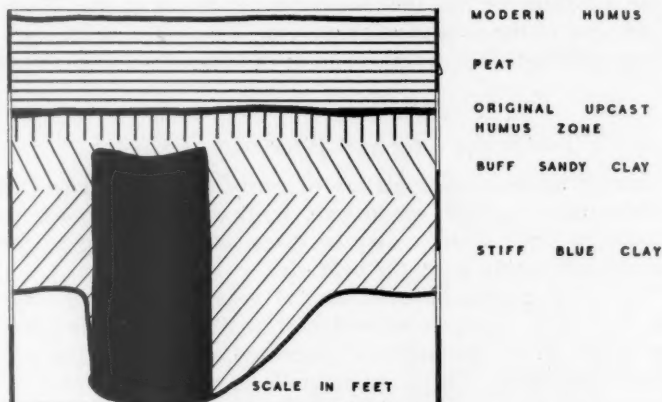


FIG. 3. Soil profile at I, outer palisade, Bleasdale Circle

Note: The post and its socket have been projected into the same plane as the soil profile.

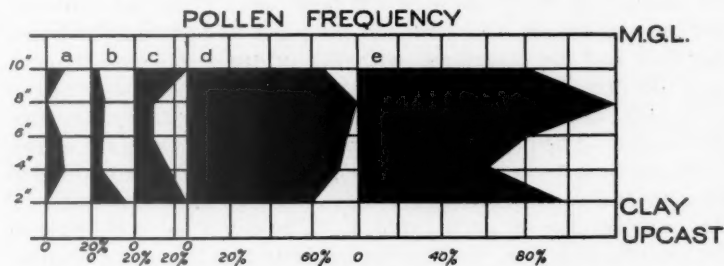


FIG. 4. Pollen analysis of peat overlying Bleasdale Circle

a, pine; b, oak, elm, lime; c, birch; d, alder; e, hazel

by systematic probing, and the contours of the inner mound surveyed for vertical intervals of 3 inches, connected by a line of levels with a Bench Mark. The inner structure was then excavated to virgin soil by Van Giffen's 'Quadrant Method'.¹

The outer circle and the area between it and the inner structure

¹ Van Giffen, *Die Bauart der Einzelgräber*, Mannus-Bibliothek, no. 44 (1930), Teil I, p. 7.

were skinned to virgin soil up to the stems of standing trees, which, in this area, we were not allowed to remove. The whole of the site has, therefore, been examined for the first time.

During the work of re-excavation we have had the assistance of people who were concerned with the original excavations, and before his death we had the invaluable assistance of Mr. Thomas Kelsall, one of the original discoverers. The plans, sections, and photographs here submitted relate to the excavations of 1933-5.

THE STRUCTURE AND PLAN OF THE CIRCLE

Though there is no evidence to prove that Bleasdale Circle is other than a single monument built at one time, for convenience in description it may be taken as comprising an inner structure set within an outer palisade.

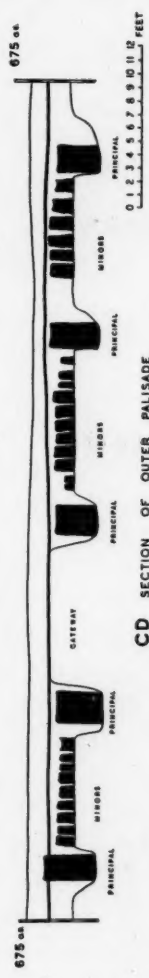
The inner structure has a central grave, 4 ft. long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in depth below the original surface of the ground. The major axis of the grave is orientated along a bearing of 30 degrees magnetic. This central grave is surrounded by eleven oak posts forming a ring 36 ft. in diameter. These posts range in girth from 2 ft. to 2 ft. 10 in. without the sapwood, and are set in holes of various shapes to a depth of 2 ft. below the original ground level. The excavators of 1900 had disturbed the mound in the vicinity of the post-holes, they had removed the packing-stones, and removed the posts to adjacent positions; but they had not interfered with the original sockets. In each case the imprint of the bottom of the original post was clearly to be seen, as in pl. xli, 1, the Boulder-clay having taken a perfect impression. The position of the posts and their sockets are shown on the accompanying plan (pl. xlv). This post-ring is surrounded by a penannular ditch, straight-sided and flat-bottomed and with the cross-section of a truncated V. The ditch is $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide at the mouth, 3 ft. 6 in. wide at the bottom, 3 ft. below the original ground-level. It was lined with birch-poles laid flat on the bottom of the ditch. In 1933 only one section of this lining remained (pls. xl, 2, and xlv), but traces of its former existence were discovered throughout the entire length of the ditch, thus bearing out the statement of the original excavators.¹

The mound had been considerably disturbed in the excavations of 1900, but sufficient has remained intact to permit of the statement that it consisted of upcast from the ditch; that it was probably circular, and that it cannot have stood much higher than

¹ W. Boyd Dawkins, *Trans. Lancs. and Chesh. Ant. Soc.*, xviii (1900), 114.



SECTION EGF ACROSS INNER STRUCTURE



CD SECTION OF OUTER PALISADE

Fig. 5. Sections. Bleasdale Circle

3 ft. in the centre. This barrow had no discernible berm, neither had any appreciable amount of upcast been thrown outwards from the ditch.

The rounded ends of the ditch are flanked by posts, one row of three to each end. The northernmost is set on an alignment of 78 degrees magnetic, the southernmost on an alignment of 127 degrees magnetic. In each row the post nearest the centre is large, 3 ft. in girth without the sapwood, and is deep-set, nearly 4 ft. below the original ground-level. The two outer posts in

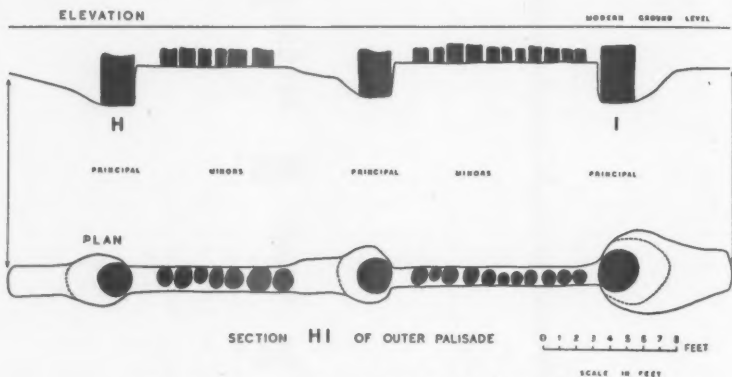
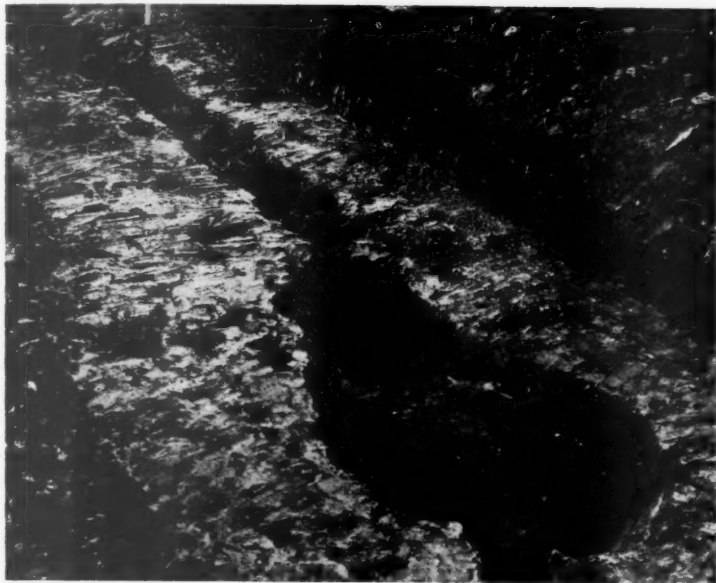


FIG. 6. Structure of outer palisade, Bleasdale Circle

Note: For convenience in drawing, the curvature along HI has been ignored

each case are set in the same hole and are smaller in girth (2 ft. and 15 in. respectively) and the socket is less deep (2 ft. 10 in.).

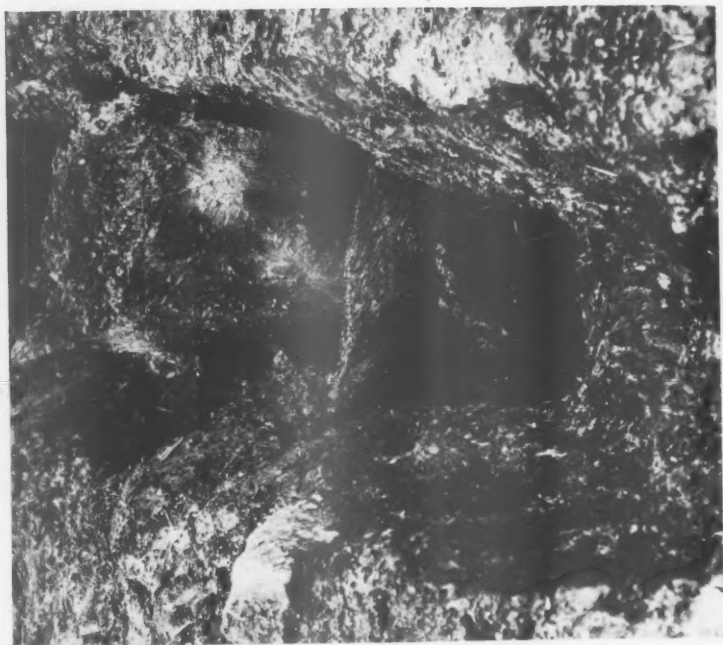
The space between these rows of posts forms a causeway through the ditch, and might have formed an entrance to the inner structure before the outer palisade was erected. The outer palisade is roughly circular, having a diameter of 150 ft., and is set eccentrically around the inner circle which it nearly touches opposite the causeway through the ditch. Apart from a break in the south-west, marked by especially large posts, the palisade is continuous. It is made up of lengths of minor posts (9-16 in. in diameter) set contiguously within a straight-sided, flat-bottomed trench, just wide enough to hold the posts, and only 9 in. below the original surface. These lengths of minor posts are separated by principals, 14-16 ft. apart, which are large oak posts 2-3 ft. in diameter, set in holes reaching 4 ft. in depth (pls. XL, I, and XLII, 1). These are the usual key-hole slots, the post being lowered down a sloping ramp, then wedged against the straight back of the hole by stones or pieces of wood (pl. XLII, 2).



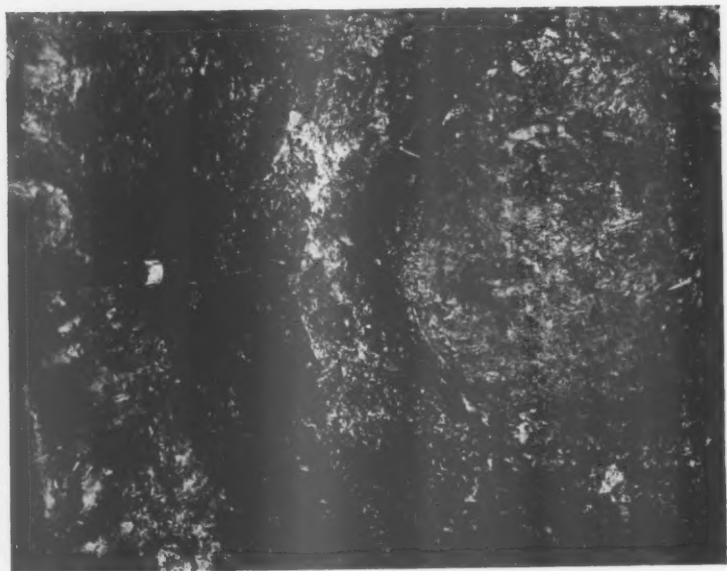
1. Bleasdale circle : portion of outer palisade



2. Bleasdale circle : the ditch flooring



2. Bleasdale circle: a principal of the outer palisade, showing wooden support



1. Bleasdale circle: post-hole of inner post-ring showing impression of base of foot



1. Bleasdale circle: a row of minors



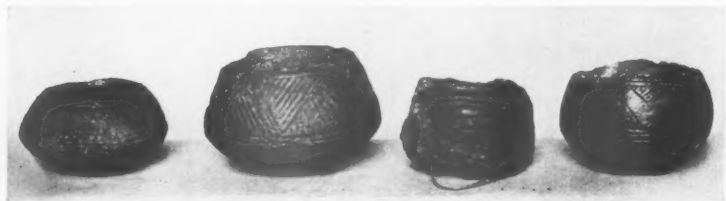
2. Bleasdale circle: the excavation of the inner structure



1. Bleasdale circle: general view from east, 1900
By courtesy of E. Kelsall, Esq.



2. Bleasdale circle: general view from south-west, 1932; the circle is in the plantation



3. Pygmy vessels from Blackheath Cross, Todmorden

On the assumption that the original height of the posts above ground was proportional to the depth below ground, the principals must have stood much higher than the minor posts. It is possible that the principals carried lintels, such as van Giffen has suggested for the timber-circle, Tumulus I at Wessinghuizen in the province of Gröningen.¹

The area between the outer palisade and the inner structure contained nothing whatsoever.

THE DATE OF THE MONUMENT

The central grave of the inner structure was sealed by the erection of a mound derived from upcast from the ditch, through which mound the posts of the inner ring probably protruded (fig. 5). The inner structure is a species of barrow, of which the central grave is the primary and only burial. The inner structure is therefore to be dated by the grave-goods of that central burial.

These consist of the two cinerary urns and pygmy cup² figured in the accompanying drawing (fig. 7). They are made of a Boulder-clay paste, stiffened with added grits and moderately well fired. They lay inverted in the central grave, the pygmy cup lying within the larger urn; and they contained fragments of bone and charcoal, too small to permit of further identification.

The two cinerary urns belong to Abercromby's type I³ with overhanging rim, which all students since his day have recognized as belonging to the Middle Bronze Age, being later in date than the food-vessel and earlier in origin than the cordon and encrusted urns, which are now regarded as being contemporary with the Urn-field vessels of the closing phases of the Bronze Age. Relative to the Bronze Age as a whole, the Middle Bronze Age was a long period and, as Childe's latest table makes clear,⁴ it was longer in the Highland province than in lowland Britain; but any attempt to suggest narrower limits for the date of the Bleasdale urns must depend on what view is taken of their relation to the supposed evolution of that type of pottery.

It has long been agreed that the starting-point in that evolution was the food-vessel, but the varieties of the food-vessel are numerous. Following Misses Chitty⁵ and Kitson Clark,⁶ and

¹ Van Giffen, *op. cit.*, Teil II, Tafel 86, Abb. 81.

² Now reposing in the Harris Museum, Preston, to the curator of which, Mr. Pavière, F.S.A., I am greatly obliged for permission to make these drawings.

³ Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery*, ii.

⁴ V. Gordon Childe, *American Anthropologist*, n.s., xxxix (1937), 5.

⁵ In a paper to Section H, British Association, Blackpool, 1936.

⁶ In a paper to the International Congress, Oslo, 1936.

Professor Childe,¹ we may agree that the food-vessel has two principal facies, the bowl (Childe's type A) commonly found in Ireland, and the vase (Childe's type B) which is characteristic of Britain. The features of the food-vessel vase which cause it to be so designated are a body shaped like an inverted, truncated cone, a well-marked shoulder, a concave neck, and a moulded rim. Where these features developed and from what antecedents is as yet undecided, but it is possible to maintain that the form and characteristic ornament of the Bleasdale urns developed from those of the food-vessel vase. In trying to trace a line of descent I shall confine my examples as far as possible to urns figured by Abercromby. To deal first with the suggested evolution of the form of the Bleasdale urns, the relevant facts may be tabulated as follows:

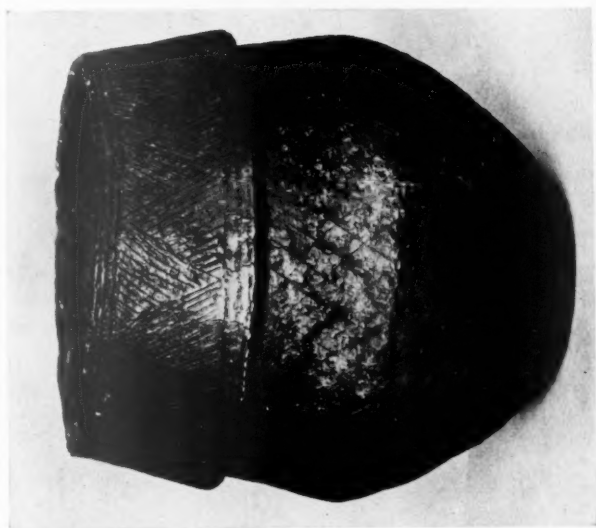
<i>Stage</i>		<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Examples</i>
Prototype		Narrow rim, with internal moulding,	Abercromby I
Food-vessel Vase		concave neck, pronounced shoulder, body shaped like inverted, truncated cone	126
<hr/>			
(i)			Abercromby II
Narrow rim urns		Narrow rim, with internal moulding, concave neck, pronounced shoulder, body shaped like inverted, truncated cone	12 (Dorset)
			16 (Wilts.)
			58 (Lincs.)
			108 (E. R. Yorks.)
			117 (N. R. Yorks.)
<hr/>			
(ii)		Deeper rim with internal moulding, neck still concave, shoulder still pronounced	61 (Oxford)
			74 (Peterboro')
			133 (E. R. Yorks.)
<hr/>			
(iii)	(a)	Still deeper rim, lessening concavity of neck, shoulder becoming less sharp and sagging	85 (Derby)
	or		87 (Northants.)
			111a (N. R. Yorks.)
		(b)	Shoulder hunched and becoming sharper (see footnote)	35 (Dorset)
			118 (E. R. Yorks.)
<hr/>			
(iv)		Deep rim, straight neck, vestigial shoulder	Bleasdale and
Deep rim urns			88 (Cheshire)
			89 (Derby)
<hr/>			
(v)		Deep rim, no shoulder	Lancaster Moor

Note. iii (b) forms the starting-point of the development of the cordon urn as traced by Miss Chitty.²

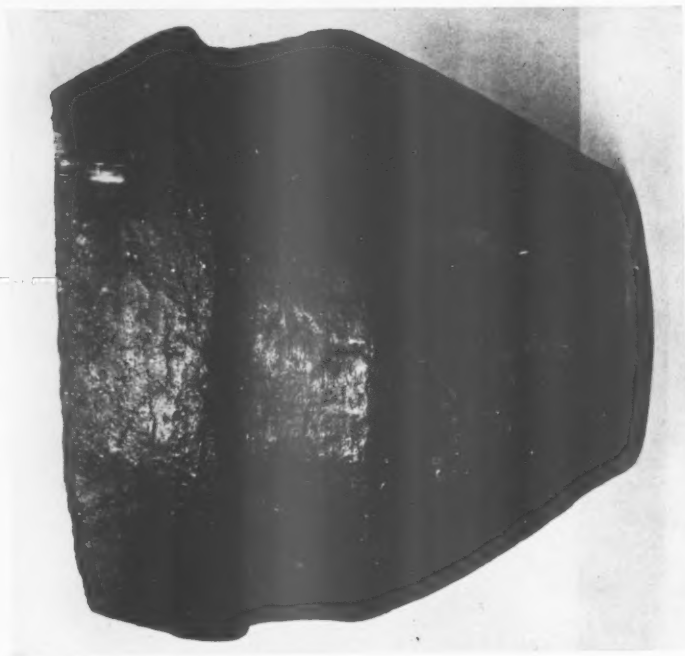
It should be remarked that the foregoing table deals with the evolution of only one form of cinerary urn, for which reason it

¹ V. Gordon Childe, *The Prehistory of Scotland* (1935), 89-95.

² *Vide supra*, p. 161, n. 5.



Pennine urns from Blackheath Cross, Todmorden ($\frac{1}{3}$ approx.)



Other urns from Blackheath Cross, Tadmorden ($\frac{1}{3}$ approx.)

makes no reference to the existence of other and possibly contemporary types of urn having a different line of descent.

Turning next to consider the evolution of the characteristic ornament of the Bleasdale urns, it should be pointed out that the two features which seem to betray their food-vessel origin are the decorated internal moulding of the rim and the necklace of punctured ornament around the vestigial shoulder. The former is too obvious to need further comment. Sir Cyril Fox¹ has drawn

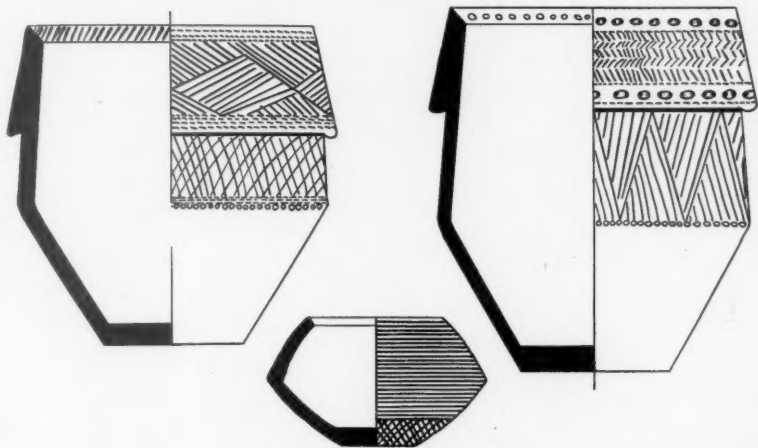


FIG. 7. The Bleasdale urns ($\frac{1}{4}$)

attention to shoulder-ornament on cinerary urns which he derives by a series of stages from the food-vessel vase with stopped grooves on the shoulder (e.g. Abercromby I, fig. 126). In his view the grooves first became smaller (Abercromby I, figs. 153 and 154), then they devolved into a series of oval depressions (e.g. Abercromby II, fig. 61), and a further devolution would transform them into wide-spaced dots (e.g. Abercromby II, fig. 78) or close-set dots (e.g. Bleasdale). A large number of cinerary urns however is decorated on the shoulder with dots, 'horseshoes', diagonal stabs, 'maggots', and the like, all of which seem to reflect the penchant for shoulder-decoration characteristic of food-vessel vases. The Bleasdale 'necklace' is merely one variant, but it is one which is characteristic of late forms of the cinerary urn (stages iv-v especially), particularly in the Pennines (see later), and if it be derived from the stopped groove of the food-vessel vase it is a late stage in that evolution.

¹ Sir Cyril Fox, *Arch. Camb.*, 1925, p. 181.

In short, the general effect of the foregoing considerations is to suggest that the Bleasdale urns belong to the later stages of the evolution of the cinerary urn as here envisaged.

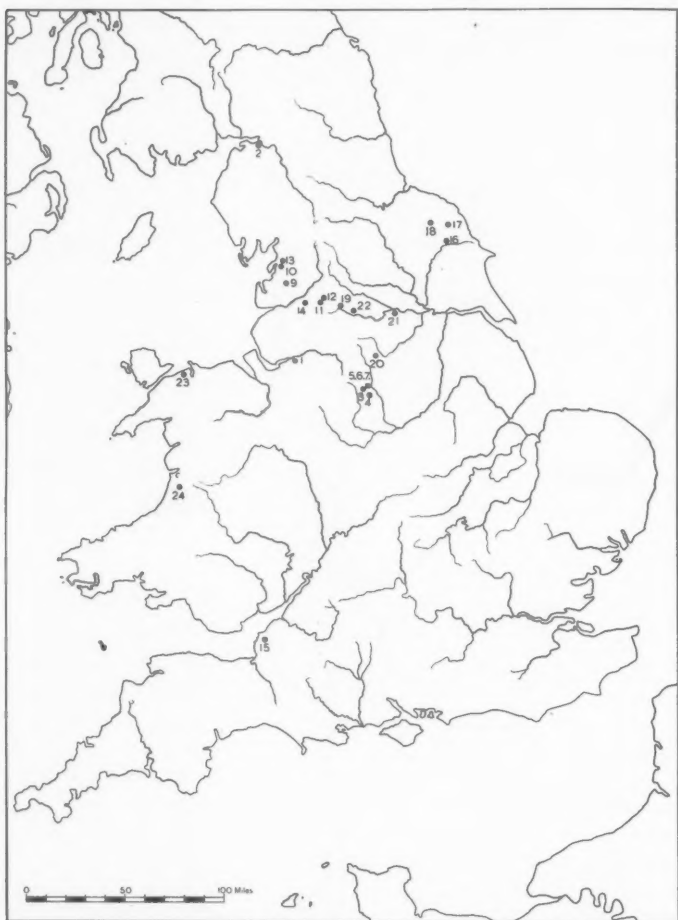


FIG. 8. Distribution of Pennine Urns

A study of the facts relating to such other urns as seem to me to be closely related to those from Bleasdale (see map, fig. 8, and schedule, pp. 169-71) strengthens this opinion. The criteria of relationship adopted are first, similarity of form, and secondly, possession of 'necklace' ornament on the shoulder, i.e. I have only

considered those urns which seem to be in the same line of descent as the Bleasdale urns. Their possession of the 'necklace' ornament appears to be an indication that they all belong to the same stage in the evolutionary sequence, for most of them have vestigial shoulders, or no shoulder at all. None of them belongs to, or is associated with urns belonging to, the earlier stages associated with narrow rims and sharp shoulders. Similarly, none of them is associated with encrusted urns or fully developed cordon urns, specifically late forms. They belong to the later phases of the evolution of the cinerary urn as it existed in northern Britain, i.e. to the closing stages of Childe's period D.¹ The modes of burial with which they were associated range from single burials in barrows, to urnfields in barrows, to flat cemeteries. The objects with which they were associated include the archer's bracer from Lancaster, and the short bronze dagger from Todmorden, both survivals from much earlier Bronze Age traditions, while the tanged daggers from Crookes and Stanton Moor owe nothing to Late Bronze Age improvements in metal-working. In short, neither the urns themselves, nor the associated objects, nor the interments with which they were associated, appear to reflect anything other than the native traditions of the Middle Bronze Age. The Bleasdale urns are not related (apparently) to those southern examples of shoulder-incisions to which Mr. Dunning has recently called attention.²

Their distribution shows that urns comparable to those found at Bleasdale are dominantly, though not exclusively, a Pennine type, so much so that it may be legitimate to refer to them as 'Pennine urns'. That is not to say that they evolved there, nor indeed in any part of northern Britain, for there are food-vessels and early types of urn in the southern counties as well as in the Yorkshire Wolds, but it is possible to regard them as a regional facies of the cinerary urn. Moreover, as Dr. Elgee has shown for north-east Yorkshire,³ Miss Chitty for Staffordshire,⁴ and Miss Furness for Derbyshire,⁵ the period when the Pennine urns were in use was the time of the expansion of population from the limestone hills to the gritstone moors of the Pennines, hitherto unoccupied since Mesolithic times. Bleasdale Circle is a monument built at the time of that expansion; as such its geographical relationship to the Pennines and the ways through them becomes

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 161, n. 4.

² G. C. Dunning, *Antiq. Journ.*, xvi (1936), 160-4.

³ F. Elgee, *Early Man in N.E. Yorks.* (1930), 82 ff.

⁴ In an as yet unpublished survey of the Bronze Age in Staffs.

⁵ In a thesis on the Peak District submitted to the University of Liverpool, 1935.

significant. The affinities of the Bleasdale urns are a surer guide to the place of Bleasdale in the story of the Bronze Age in North Britain than are the affinities of the monument itself.

THE AFFINITIES OF BLEASDALE CIRCLE

The affinities of Bleasdale Circle with other monuments involving the use of timber is a question which has been discussed previously,¹ but since that discussion appeared a great deal of new information has come to light which necessitates a reconsideration of the views then put forward.

The problem, quite simply, is to determine the relationship of Bleasdale to that group of monuments to which the term 'Timber Circle' has been applied, albeit loosely. Dr. Grahame Clark² has rightly insisted upon a distinction being made between the 'Henge' monuments (a group of non-sepulchral monuments belonging to the Beaker period), and the 'palisade-barrows', the earliest recorded example of which appears to be Calais Wold, associated with a food-vessel. The distinction appears to be functional, chronological, and geographical.

Bleasdale is certainly not a 'Henge' monument in the sense defined by Clark, though Boyd Dawkins saw a ritual significance in both the timber-lined ditch and dummy entrance or forecourt;³ its structural affinities are clearly with the 'palisade-barrows'. Indeed, the resemblance between the inner structure at Bleasdale and the Dutch 'palisade-barrow', e.g. Langedijk,⁴ is too striking to be dismissed as a coincidence.

The difficulty comes in trying to assess the relationship, if any, between the two types of monument. Doctors van Giffen⁵ and Bursch⁶ are inclined to regard the Dutch 'palisade-barrows' as a reflection or imitation of the English timber 'Henges'; Mr. Crawford⁷ and myself⁸ have propounded the converse of their proposition, while Dr. Clark has suggested that we may all be wrong,⁹ a view which it would be churlish to resist. Fortunately in the case of Bleasdale Circle it does not matter. We all accept the affinities between Bleasdale and the Dutch 'palisade-

¹ W. J. Varley, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, xx, 187 ff.

² J. G. D. Clark, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 1936, no. 1.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ Van Giffen, *op. cit.*, Teil II, Taf. 43-5.

⁵ *Op. cit.*

⁶ Bursch, *Die Becherkultur in den Niederlanden* (1933).

⁷ O. G. S. Crawford, *Antiquity* (1929), 259.

⁸ *Vide supra*, n. 1.

⁹ *Loc. cit.*

barrows'; Mr. Dunning¹ and Professor Childe² have pointed out that relations between Britain and the Low Countries continued throughout the Bronze Age. Both timber circles and 'palisade-barrows' may have originated in this country, or in Holland, or elsewhere where there was a barrow culture and the necessity to cut down trees; their existence on both sides of the North Sea merely reflects the cultural contacts of the times. What is certain is that Bleasdale is neither early nor wholly typical. The evidence from Calais Wold seems to suggest that the 'palisade-barrow' must be added to the long list of modes of burial practised by food-vessel users. Given that fact, it is not in the least surprising that 'palisade-barrows' or monuments derived from them should continue to be built in the Middle Bronze Age in highland Britain, where the influence of the food-vessel ceramic was so strong. But in the case of Bleasdale, the outer palisade, the forecourt of the inner structure, and the eccentric relation of the outer palisade to the inner structure, are features which are not found in other timber monuments. The forecourt may be derived from the crescentic façades of segmented cists, such as exist in Gallo-way,³ the Isle of Man,⁴ and the south Pennines.⁵ The eccentricity of inner and outer structure recalls the curious Ysceifiog Barrow.⁶ The monument at Ballynoe, in Northern Ireland, to which my attention has been kindly drawn by our Fellow Mr. E. E. Evans, bears a general resemblance in plan to Bleasdale, but we must await the conclusion of the investigation of that site by Dr. van Giffen before it will be possible to say whether or not the similarity is fortuitous. The combination of these features derived from various cultural sources in one monument, if it be admitted, is merely another testimony to the assimilative powers of the Middle Bronze Age Culture. But whether it be admitted or no, Bleasdale Circle still remains a unique monument.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Apart from the specific obligations mentioned in the footnotes, I am specially indebted to Mrs. Edith Rigby, to whose intervention the preservation of Bleasdale Circle is due; to my assistants, particularly Messrs. Ellis and Townson, for their labours; to

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 165, n. 2.

² *Vide supra*, p. 161, n. 4.

³ V. Gordon Childe, *Prehistory of Scotland*.

⁴ Professor H. J. Fleure, *Antiq. Journ.* xvi (1936), 373 ff.

⁵ C. W. Phillips, *The Trent Basin*, O.S. Map of Neolithic Britain.

⁶ C. Fox, *Arch. Camb.* (1926), 48-85.

Miss M. U. Owen and Mr. W. T. Jones for assistance with plans and photographs; to the innumerable Museum Curators for permission to see and photograph their 'Pennine urns'; to Dr. K. B. Blackburn for providing the pollen analysis; to Dr. J. Wilfrid Jackson and Professor H. J. Fleure for their constant encouragement; to Miss Lily F. Chitty, on whose store of knowledge concerning the Bronze Age I have so frequently drawn, and to Mr. Edward Kelsall of Bleasdale for services too numerous to mention.

SCHEDULE OF 'PENNINE URNS' IN ENGLAND AND WALES¹

Site number	County	Name	Form	Associated objects	Mode of burial	References
1	Cheshire	Grappenhall	..	Other urns	Urnfield within and near barrow	No complete account yet published. Urns in Warington Museum.
2	Cumberland	Garlands	v	Other urns, forms iv-v; perforated stone mace-head	Flat cemetery	Abercromby, 113; County Arch. Survey, p. 20; <i>V.C.H.</i> i, 235-6.
3	Derbyshire	Flaxdale	iv	..	Single burial in round barrow	Abercromby, 89; Bateman, <i>Digging</i> , p. 62.
4	"	Moot Low	iv	Tanged bronze knife	Secondary burial in barrow	Abercromby, 94; Bateman, <i>Vestige</i> , p. 51.
5	"	Stanton Moor	iii	..	..	Abercromby, 78.
6	"	"	iv iv v	Other urns, forms iv-v, and pygmy cups	Flat burial	Storrs-Fox, <i>D.A.S.</i> 7. (1927), fig. 4, nos. 5, 7, 8.
7	"	"	iv iv iii	Tanged bronze knife; other urn, form iv	Multiple interments in barrow	Heathcote, <i>D.A.S.</i> 7. (1930), pls. 7, 8, 1.
8	"	"	v	Circular jet rings; other urns, forms iv-v	Primary interment in multiple interment in barrow	Heathcote, <i>D.A.S.</i> 7. (1936), pl. v, T. 16 A.

¹ In the preparation of this schedule, which makes no claim to be exhaustive, I have received considerable assistance from Miss Lily F. Chitty.

<i>Site number</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Associated objects</i>	<i>Mode of Burial</i>	<i>References</i>
9	Lancashire	Bleasdale	iv iv	Pygmy cup	Single interment in timber circle	This paper.
10	"	Bowerham Barracks, Lancaster	v	Archer's bracer; other urns, forms iv-v	Flat cemetery	<i>V.C.H.</i> i, 242-3.
11	"	Extwistle, Burnley	iv	..	..	<i>Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. and Chesh.</i> vi (1865).
12	"	Hellclough, Burnley	iv	Flint axe	Secondary to cist burial containing bronze pin	<i>L.C.A.S.</i> v, p. 278, pl. 2; xi, 159.
13	"	Lancaster Moor	v	Tanged bronze knife; other urns, forms iv-v	Flat cemetery	<i>J.B.A.A.</i> xxi (1865), 159-61.
14	"	Revidge Mill, Blackburn	v	Bronze pin	Primary in barrow	<i>V.C.H.</i> i, 242-3, fig. 28.
15	Somerset	Burrington, Blackdown, Mendips	iii	..	Primary in degenerate cist in barrow	<i>Arch. Camb.</i> 1926, p. 26; Dobson, <i>Arch. Somerset</i> , p. 76, fig. 7A.
16	Yorkshire, North Riding	Cawthorn	iv	..	Secondary to food-vessel in barrow	Elgee, <i>Early Man</i> , p. 69.
17	"	Fylingdale	iv	..	..	Kendall Coll., York, no. 7.
18	"	Danby Moor	iii iv iv	Mayer Collection, Liverpool Museum.

THE BLEASDALE CIRCLE

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19	Yorkshire, West Riding	Blackheath Cross, Todmorden	iv iv	2 other urns (form iii); 4 pygmy cups; bronze tanged knife; jet and amber beads; bone beads; segmented beads	Urnfield in disc barrow	J. L. Russell in Ling Roth, <i>Prehistoric Halifax</i> , 307- 22; Fishwick, <i>P.S.A.</i> xvii. For urns see pls. XLIII-v.
20	"	Cocked Hat Lane, Crookes	iv	Biconical pygmy cup; urn, form iv; tanged bronze knife; leaf- shaped flint arrow- head	Flat cemetery	Abercromby, 84; Bagga- ley, <i>T. Hunt. Arch. Soc.</i> iii (1928), pl. iv.
21	"	Ferry Fryston	v	.. ..	Tertiary to Beaker pri- mary and food-vessel secondary	Abercromby, 168, Green- well, <i>B.B.</i> , p. 372, pl. CLXI.
22	"	Halifax, Tower Hill	iv	..	..	Ling Roth, <i>Prehistoric Halifax</i> , 292-4, figs. 195-6.
23	Caernarvon	Penmaenmawr	iii	Other urns; 2 bronze pins	Urnfield in barrow	<i>Arch. Camb.</i> (1891), 33-7; Wheeler, <i>Prehistoric and Roman Wales</i> , fig. 73 (2).
24	Cardigan	Llanfhangely Creuddyn	iii	..	..	<i>Arch. Camb.</i> 1925, p. 204; <i>ibid.</i> 1932, p. 202.

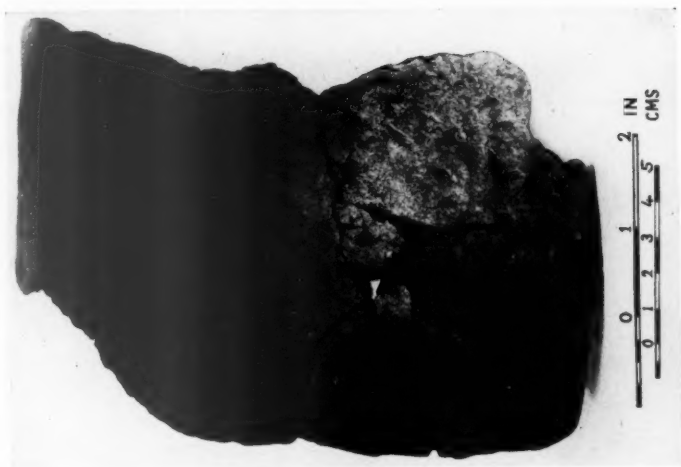
Notes

Long Barrow at West Rudham, Norfolk.—Mr. J. E. Sainty, Local Secretary for Norfolk, sends the following: In May 1937 the Norfolk Research Committee carried out a preliminary investigation of the Long Barrow discovered at West Rudham, Norfolk, in November 1935, with the object of ascertaining definitely its artificial construction and its pre-historic or later date. The investigation was financed by a research grant from the British Association. The mound lies on West Rudham Common in lat. $52^{\circ} 48' 12''$ N. and long. $0^{\circ} 41' 8''$ E. (O.S. 6 in. sheet, Norfolk XXIV. SW.), at about 240 ft. O.D. The mound is about 240 ft. long by 70 ft. wide, and is sub-rectangular in plan, with a maximum height of 6 ft. 10 in. above the heath, though the burrowing of rabbits and digging by warreners have considerably reduced the original height. On the east side an area of black earth, fired flints, and potboilers suggested a cooking site of the type which has produced A-C beaker ware at Eccles. This cooking site was found to extend above the primary silting of the ditch; and soil above a pan layer containing potboilers yielded the only fragment of pottery met with of B beaker ware. The ditch was proved on the east and west sides, and also on the north and south ends; turf from above the ditch silting at the south end provided a long-barbed arrow-head, dating about 1200 B.C. A fragment of polished axe occurred on the surface of the mound. The investigation showed clearly that the excavation of the ditch, and therefore the construction of the mound, preceded the establishment of the cooking site by an interval sufficient to permit the primary silting of the ditch. The work was carried out by the kind permission of the Trustees of the Townshend Estates. A report of the investigation will appear in *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. xxvi, part 3, in 1938, and, if sufficient financial aid is forthcoming, the mound itself will be excavated in July–August 1938.

A Beaker from Somerset.—Mrs. Dobson, F.S.A., Local Secretary, sends the following: In November 1936 Dr. Herbert Taylor was on the beach to the south of Brean Down, and opposite the big sand-bank. About halfway between high- and low-water mark he found the fragments of a beaker lying on the sand. It was broken, but arranged on a single sherd of pottery of a different texture and pattern (pl. XLVII). There was no sign of burning, but it lay in a pit containing a little black earth and charcoal. Full details will be published in the forthcoming number of the *Proceedings of the University of Bristol Spelaeological Society*.

Excavations in Northumberland and County Durham in 1937.—Mr. Eric Birley, F.S.A., Local Secretary, sends the following: There has been a greater variety of excavation than for some years past in these two counties during 1937.

On Hadrian's Wall the only excavation was at *Bentwell*, where the laying



Sherd on which the beaker rested



Beaker from Brean Down beach



1. Corbridge: Gateway, with one projecting bastion,
in the north wall of the Constantinian compound



2. Benwell: inscription to Hadrian, under A. Platorius Nepos, by a
detachment of the *Classis Britannica*

out of a site for a new housing estate made its immediate and final examination necessary; the work was carried out by Messrs. F. G. Simpson and I. A. Richmond for the North of England Excavation Committee, with the welcome co-operation of the British Legion. A virtually complete plan of the original Hadrianic fort was recovered, involving considerable amplification and revision of the plan previously published.¹ The most interesting particular discoveries were: (1) The greater part of a fine inscription, of the familiar series mentioning Hadrian and his governor Platorius Nepos, in this case erected by a *vexillatio classis Britannicae*; the letters are particularly well drawn and deeply cut; the inscription may come from the granary of the fort (pl. XLVIII, 2). (2) In the courtyard of the head-quarters building was found the delivery tank of a high-pressure water-supply system. It is hoped that further investigation of this system will be possible in the near future.

At *Corbridge*² further clearance by H.M. Office of Works has made the part of the site west of no. XXXIX available for excavation by the Durham University Excavation Committee under Messrs. Birley and Richmond. The result has been to show (i) that the so-called 'Aqueduct' walls in fact represent the remains of successive military enclosures. At first, there were two enclosures, one on either side of the street which runs from no. XI southward past the west front of no. XXXIX. The temple no. XL, S. has been inserted in the northern passage of the double gateway of the western enclosure; the eastern enclosure's gateway, opposite to it, has a single entrance-passage. Both enclosures date from the time of Severus. A century later, a larger enclosure was formed by joining and extending the two earlier areas; in particular, a wall was built from the western enclosure along the south side of the Stanegate, being pierced by a gateway giving access to the southward street already mentioned. The gateway (pl. XLVIII, 1), though unnoticed and badly damaged in the excavations of 1912, is sufficiently well preserved for a complete plan of it to be recovered; it is irregular, having one projecting bastion only, on the west side, so that attackers from the north could be enfiladed on their exposed side. A chance find in this part of the site was another fragment of the fine inscription to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, in the governorship of Sextus Calpurnius Agricola, of which one part has been, since before Horsley's time, built up in the Pele Tower at *Corbridge*,³ and two other fragments were found in 1912;⁴ the new fragment allows a virtually complete restoration of the text.

At *Chesterholm* Mr. Birley's excavations in the barracks of the *praetentura* have produced an interesting series of superimposed levels, one of which may be later in origin than A.D. 370. At *Lanchester*, an outline of the history of the existing fort has been recovered, in a short trial excavation, by Mr. K. A. Steer for the Durham University Excavation Committee; the fort was built by Hadrian, and in its present form is the result of a drastic reconstruction (probably after the site had been neglected for a generation or

¹ *Northumberland County History*, xiii, 524-5.

² Cf. H.M. Office of Works, *Official Guide*, 1938, p. 15 f. and plan. A full report is to appear in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th ser., xv.

³ *C.I.L.* vii, 473.

⁴ *Eph. Ep.* ix, 1382.

more) by Gordian, referred to on two inscriptions.¹ An extremely interesting series of stratified pottery, besides showing the main periods of the occupation of the fort, helps to fix the period of use of a number of types which have not hitherto been noted in datable deposits. At *Binchester*, similar excavations by Mr. Steer have hit on a clay rampart of the original Flavian fort, similar in size and shape to that at Malton, producing an initial deposit of pottery which appears to indicate an original occupation by *Cerialis* rather than by *Agricola*. Another discovery of some interest was the counterpart of the curious structure found outside one of the angle-towers by Hooppell, which seems most easily explained as a cesspit of the sewage disposal system. At non-Roman sites two excavations fall to be recorded. The first was at *High Shield*, north of Chesterholm, between the Vallum and the Wall, where it has long been known that a hut-circle settlement existed. This has been completely excavated for the pre-historic sub-committee of the North of England Excavation Committee by Mr. H. Kilbride-Jones; the whole of the occupation of the site appears to fall within the second century—all the small finds are of Roman manufacture or date, but some of them are certainly of native workmanship, as are the remarkably interesting huts themselves. The existence of such a native hamlet between the two lines of the frontier works invites speculation; it might be suggested that it represents the *vicus* of the neighbouring mile-castle at Hotbank, in that case emphasizing the social and cultural difference between the occupants of the mile-castles and the regiments in the forts.²

The other excavation, at *Howick*, was negative in its results. A pagan Saxon burial had been recorded there, and there seemed reason to suppose the existence of a cemetery, but excavations by Mr. G. S. Keeney showed that, if there had been a cemetery, it has all now been quarried away.

Objects from Bigberry Camp, Harbledown, Kent.—Mr. R. F. Jessup, F.S.A., Local Secretary for Kent, sends the following note: The antiquities here described were obtained from one of the gravel pits in Bigberry Camp, Harbledown, some years ago, and were recently presented to the Canterbury Museum at the instance of Mr. M. D. Collier. I am indebted to Mr. H. T. Mead of Canterbury Museum for permission to publish them. There is strong presumptive evidence that the objects were all found at the same time and in association, and the presence of an almost complete slave-collar lends interest to what would otherwise be but a very dull handful of sherds.

Of the pottery, the three pieces of note are illustrated in fig. 1. The first is the big roll rim of a massive storage jar of light greyish-brown pottery. It has a very coarse texture, and the tempering of the fabric, which includes bits of iron-slag, crushed pottery, and straw, is remarkable for its diversity. The jar belongs to a type which is now becoming well known: it can be exactly paralleled at Colchester from A.D. 5 onwards, but here it may equally well be a product of the previous decade. The smaller of the hollow-based jars is made of a fairly uniform fabric with little grit but a great

¹ *C.I.L.* vii, 445-6.

² Cf. *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th ser., ix, 210 f.



Iron slave-collar with barrel-lock from Bigberry Camp

deal of sand in its composition. It is baked quite well, and the surface has been carefully smoothed but not polished. The larger hollow-based jar is more primitive in material and finish. The fabric has a plentiful sprinkling of fine flint grits, and its greyish-brown colour suggests that it received a considerably less thorough baking. Both pots belong to the class of hollow-based vessels described by Mr. Christopher Hawkes in an earlier note on pottery from Bigberry (*Arch. Journ.* lxxxix, 103-4, fig. 5, d). They are hand-made, and Mr. Hawkes suggests that they are likely to be of pre-Conquest date. The larger, he points out, might well be B.C. rather than A.D. and the limiting dates may be said to be 80/50 B.C. and A.D. 40/50. The

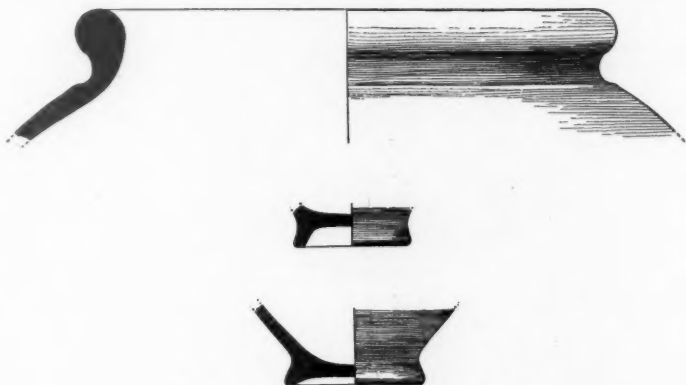


FIG. 1. Pottery from Bigberry Camp (1)

remaining fragments of pottery are from similar vessels, none of which permits of more precise dating.

The whetstone (fig. 2), a regularly shaped piece of clay iron-stone, shows considerable signs of use, and has evidently been damaged by the heat of a fire. It is provided with a hole for suspension, possibly from a belt. The number of iron sickles and bill-hooks found at Bigberry speak adequately enough for the use of such stones. Mr. Kenneth Oakley, who has kindly examined the stone, says that it does not seem to be of local origin; outside the Weald, he says, the possibilities of its source could be multiplied beyond the point of usefulness.

The iron slave-collar, illustrated in plate XLIX, is a D-shaped piece of apparatus, the straight restraining link of which consists of a barrel-lock. Part of the barrel is still attached to one end of the collar by means of two loops, and other pieces of its circumference, the largest of which is illustrated, were also represented in the mass of rusted ironwork which came to the Museum. A part of the looped-handled key, which had also survived, is illustrated below the collar. The effective diameter of the collar is 3.6 in., or a trifle more allowing for the corrosion of the iron, and this is a very fair average neck measurement. It stands 1.3 in. high, and the neck band is of convex shape, presumably so that the collar should not bite too deeply into the

slave's neck. There is no trace of a chain attachment, and thus the collar is not likely to have been an integral part of a gang-chain such as those already known from Bigberry and Lord's Bridge, Barton.

Little can be added to the present writer's account of Iron Age slave-irons in Britain (*Arch. Journ.* lxxxix, 108-10 and figs.). The Millon Collection still provides the closest parallels (J. Déchelette, *Collection Millon*, pls. 38, 39, 40, figs. 29 and 30, pp. 184-8). There is a pair of hand-grips provided with a barrel-lock and a spring catch much like the present Bigberry example, and dating seems to rest chiefly on the association of three curious iron shackles with a piece of an iron sword of T2 type at La Tène itself.

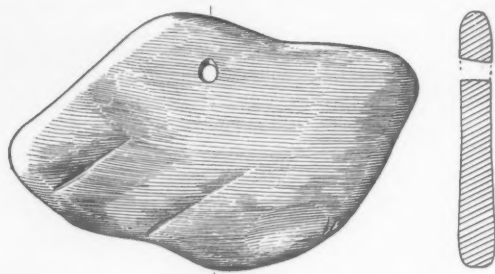


FIG. 2. Whetstone from Bigberry Camp ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Medieval fetterlocks were closely similar in construction to the Iron Age slave-collars. There need be no direct connexion between the two, but it is nevertheless of interest to compare the Bigberry collar with, say, a typical sixteenth-century lock from Chatham (M 27/334) in the Guildhall Museum.

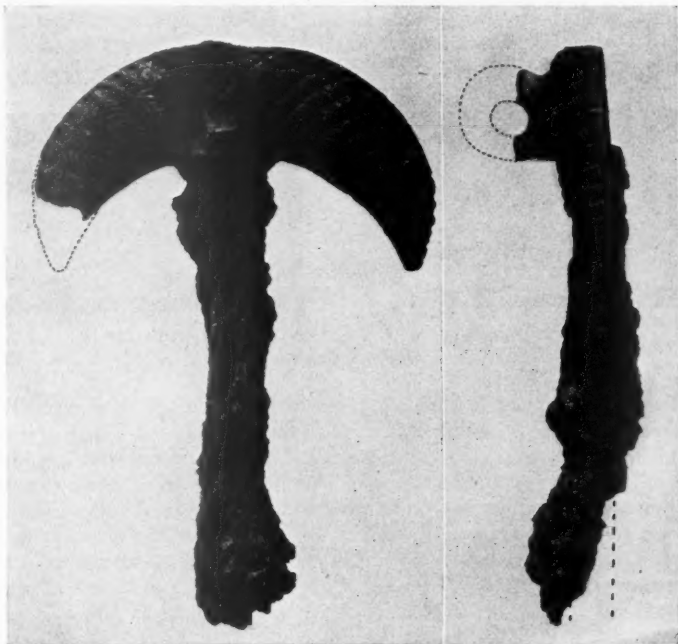
I am much indebted to Mr. Christopher Hawkes for his continued interest in the pottery, and to Mr. Quintin Waddington for his very ready assistance at the Guildhall Museum.

A Roman linch-pin.—Mr. Adrian Oswald sends the following note: The object here illustrated was found recently on the site of the villa of Mansfield Woodhouse, Notts, now being re-excavated under my direction. It was discovered in the filling of an external ditch, which passed unnoticed during the excavation undertaken by Major Hayman Rooke, F.S.A., in 1786 (*Archaeologia*, vols. viii, ix, x, xi), and was in close association with pottery of late second- and early third-century date.

I am indebted to Mr. Reginald Smith, F.S.A., for identifying it as a linch-pin and for adducing a comparison with a bronze object from Hassocks, Sussex, described in vol. vii, p. 69 of the *Antiquaries Journal*. Four others are figured in the Verulamium report (pl. LXII, p. 217), where their method of use is described and their decorative evolution discussed.

The present example, the most northerly of the series, presents an interesting link between the late third-century types from Verulamium and

those of an earlier date from Colchester and Hassocks. All types have T-shaped bronze heads with a central loop or projection for the attachment of a securing thong. A specimen from Colchester, dated first century, has the ends of the T terminating in dogs' heads, while the pin from Hassocks (of presumed first-century date) has ribbed, but plain, striations on the arms, with curious reptilian heads at the endings. Both examples display Iron Age influence.



Romano-British linch-pin from Mansfield Woodhouse, Notts.

The linch-pin under discussion would seem to represent the next step in the history of the decoration. Dated about the end of the second century, it preserves the ribbed markings of the Hassocks pin with the addition of diagonal featherings on the ribs; there is an exactly similar pin from London as regards shape, but without decoration and with a plain central loop. Of the two late third-century pins from Verulamium one has an affinity with the Colchester example, the other has a relationship with those from Mansfield Woodhouse and London; in both the resemblance is conventionalized and lacks the original decoration of the earlier prototypes.

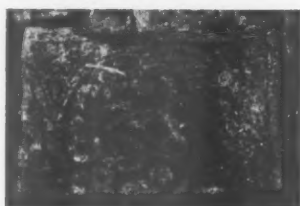
Of the actual craftsmanship of the Mansfield Woodhouse linch-pin it is sufficient to note that, like the Hassocks example, the bronze-cast head approaches brass; that the juncture with the iron tang (square cross-section)

is exceedingly strong and is apparently welded; that the head of the pin above the central broken loop has been flattened with hammering; and that the whole object with its grey-green patina and delicate markings presents an attractive appearance, even though lacking the artistic designs of the earlier types.

Saxon Sculptures at Chew Stoke, Somerset.—Mrs. Dobson, F.S.A., Local Secretary, sends the following note: Through the kindness of Lieutenant-Colonel Collins and Professor E. Fawcett, F.R.S., my attention has been drawn to two Saxon sculptured stones built into the north wall of the churchyard of Chew Stoke, Somerset. The doorway which they flank leads



Western stone



Eastern stone

Chew Stoke

into a farm shed, and it is thus possible to measure their thickness. The dimensions of that on the west side are 18 in. \times 13½ in. \times 6 in., and it has an oblique hole drilled near the centre. That on the east side measures 17½ in. \times 13 in. \times 6 in. and is also holed. The material of which they are made is an oolitic limestone. The pattern of the knot on the western stone appears to be post-Danish in date. That to the east resembles, in some respects, that on the cross-fragment from Saint Oswald's Priory, now in the Gloucester Museum.

Both stones were overgrown with ivy, which had to be removed from them, and which has left marks upon their surface.

There is no evidence pointing to the existence formerly of a Saxon building in the present church, but the village is mentioned in Domesday Book, and was held in the time of King Edward by one named Ewacre.

Pewter Vessel from Ashby-de-la-Zouch Castle.—Mr. R. S. Simms sends the following note: Two vessels¹ were discovered in the filling of a well at Ashby-de-la-Zouch Castle in Leicestershire during the work of conservation carried out by H.M. Office of Works. The situation of the well is in front of the main entry to the Great Tower, which was built for the first Lord Hastings in 1476. It may, therefore, be safely assumed that the well was connected with earlier buildings on the site and was filled in during the building of the tower.

¹ They were exhibited by Mr. P. K. Baillie Reynolds, F.S.A., at the meeting on 13th January.



Pewter vessel from Ashby-de-la-Zouch Castle, Leicestershire

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One vessel is a bronze ewer which stands on three legs; it has a rounded bottom and a spout with ornamentations representing the head of a dragon, and is of common type. It is 8.2 in. in height, the greatest girth being 1 ft. 3.4 in. and the circumference of the neck 9.6 in. There are examples of this type dated fourteenth century in the British Museum and in the Victoria and Albert Museum. One interesting feature in this vessel is that one of the legs is a misfit and is made of slightly different material from the others. Evidently, while it was in use, a leg was broken off; another one was put on by the local coppersmith, and may have served the purpose for a time, but, unfortunately, the joint leaked and therefore the vessel was thrown away, perhaps down the well or on a rubbish heap with which the well was filled at a later date.

The small six-sided vessel is made of pewter (pl. I). It is 4.6 in. in height, 2.1 in. across the base and 1 in. across the top of the neck. It bears a close resemblance to the usual seventeenth-century coffee pot, but the spout is ornamented similarly to the ewer, to represent a dragon's head. This is a purely medieval type of decoration; also it closely resembles an example reproduced in the catalogue of the Figdor Collection¹ which was sold in Berlin in 1930 and is described as French, late fifteenth century. The vessel in this collection is complete, retaining its lid, but, on the whole, it is more ornate than the example from Ashby. It may be suggested that this vessel is one of a pair of cruets, which were used for holding water or wine at mass, and are a common feature in the inventories of medieval households. The vessel also has interesting scratchings on two of its sides, and I am much obliged to the Manuscript Department and to Mr. A. B. Tonnochy, F.S.A., of the British Museum, for deciphering this for me. On one side is written THOMAS HUNTE, and on another is HONORIFICABILITUT, which is an abridgement of the word *honorificabilitudinitatibus*; the script is similar to that which was in use in the fifteenth century. There are several instances of the use of this word,^{2,3} the best-known example being in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act v, Scene i, when Costard (a clown) says: 'O they have lived long on the alms-basket of words. I marvel thy master hath not eaten thee for a word; for thou are not so long by the head as honorificabilitudinitatibus; thou art easier swallow'd than a flap-dragon.'

This lengthy word is found in the Codex Bernensis (Petrus Grammaticus)² which was written about the ninth century, and is also mentioned by Albertino Mussato (born c. 1260; died c. 1329) in his *De Gestis Henrici VII Caesaris Historia*⁴ and in Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia*.⁵ Giovanni di Balbo, a grammarian, whose book appeared c. 1480, says regarding *honorifico*, 'unde haec honorificabilitudinitatibus et haec est

¹ *Catalogue of the Albrecht Figdor Sammlung in Berlin, 1930*, vol. i, lot 228, pl. LVI (Cassirer, Berlin).

² *Codex Bernensis*, 522 (L. Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, ii, 95, Munich, 1911).

³ *Euphoriion*, i (1894), p. 283, an article by M. Herrmann on *Honorificabilitudinitatibus*.

⁴ Muratori, *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, x, 376 (footnote).

⁵ Dante, *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, book ii, chap. 7.

longissimo dictu ut patet in hoc versu, Fuget honorificabilitudinitatibus iste'. The word was thus evidently a grammatical commonplace and the longest Latin word known to medieval scholars.

It is also mentioned by John Marston, but he may have obtained it either from medieval sources or from Shakespeare.¹

This vessel, besides being of an unusual type, is of importance from the fact that few examples of English pewter have been discovered in datable deposits on medieval sites in England.

Some Fragments of Illuminated Manuscripts.—Our Fellow Mr. H. B. Walters contributes the following note: Odd leaves of illuminated manuscripts turn up sometimes in unexpected places. Recently, in examining the Edwardian Inventories of London Church Goods at the Public Record Office, I encountered four examples of such documents used in 1552 as covers to the inventories of City parishes, viz. St. Andrew, Holborn; St. Leonard Foster; St. Martin Vintry; and St. Alban, Wood Street. None of these inventories has hitherto been published. Being curious as to the sources of these fragments, I consulted our Fellow Mr. J. A. Herbert, who kindly and with considerable ingenuity succeeded in identifying the originals of them all. I include in this note the results of his investigations, with grateful thanks to him for his help.

1. *St. Andrew, Holborn* (P.R.O., E. 117, 48). The cover consists of two leaves, written on both sides, from a Gradual, probably of Sarum Use, dating about 1500.² The extract is from Quadragesima Sunday (Dominica IV), and the ritual directions are given in red all through. Each page contains eleven lines of text with music, and on the third and fourth pages is given a lection from the story of the Prodigal Son: 'O fili gaudete quia frater tuus mortuus fuit et revixit perierat et inventus est.'³ There is also on page 2 a reference to Psalms cxv.

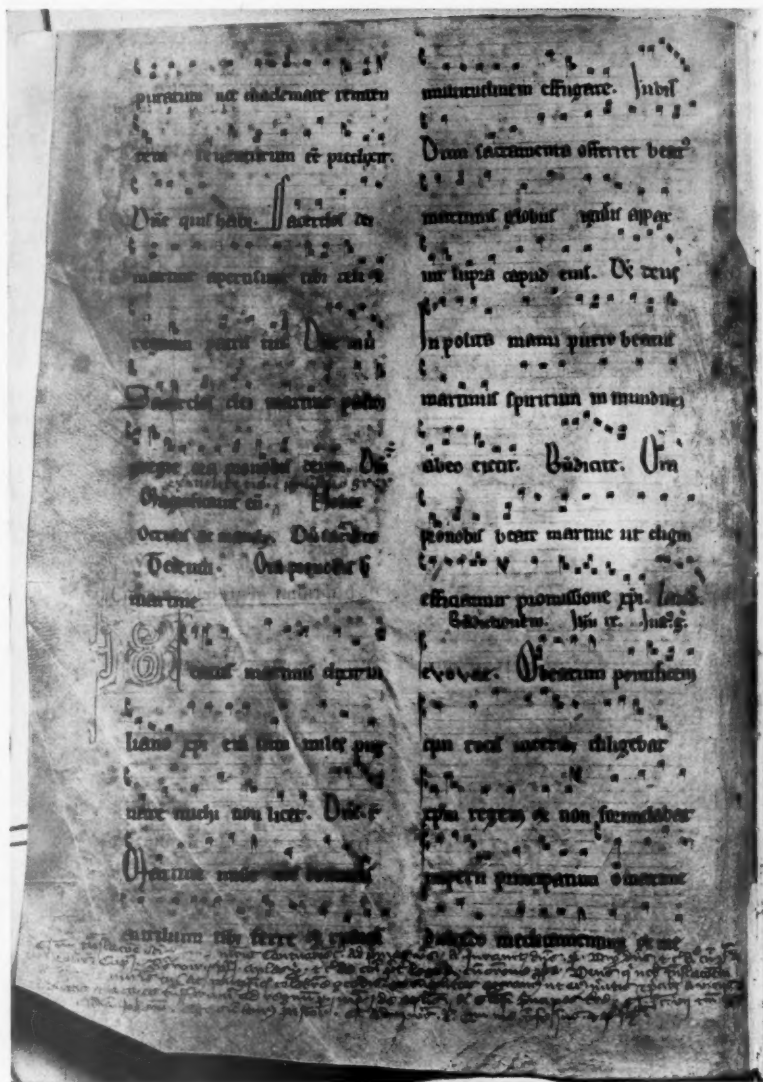
2. *St. Leonard Foster* (P.R.O., E. 117, 78). The cover consists of two leaves, as the preceding, but each page is divided into two columns, the text being interspersed with music and ritual directions (see pl. LI). The initial letters are given in colour, some being of larger size. The document is described by Mr. Herbert as being of exceptional interest, being from an Antiphoner of the York Use, of late thirteenth-century date. These examples of York Use at such an early date are very rare, and it is remarkable to find one in the City of London, where Sarum was the normal use. It contains the choral part of the Breviary offices, with music between the lines, and bits of collects to serve as cues for the choir. The first leaf comprises most of the Office for the Translation of St. Martin of Tours (4th July); the last leaf that for the Invention of St. Stephen (3rd Aug.).⁴ Each page contains in each column 12–14 lines, and at the bottom of page 2 (as will be seen in pl. LI) are five lines of ordinary script of the sixteenth century,

¹ e.g. John Marston, *Dutch Courtesan*, 1605.

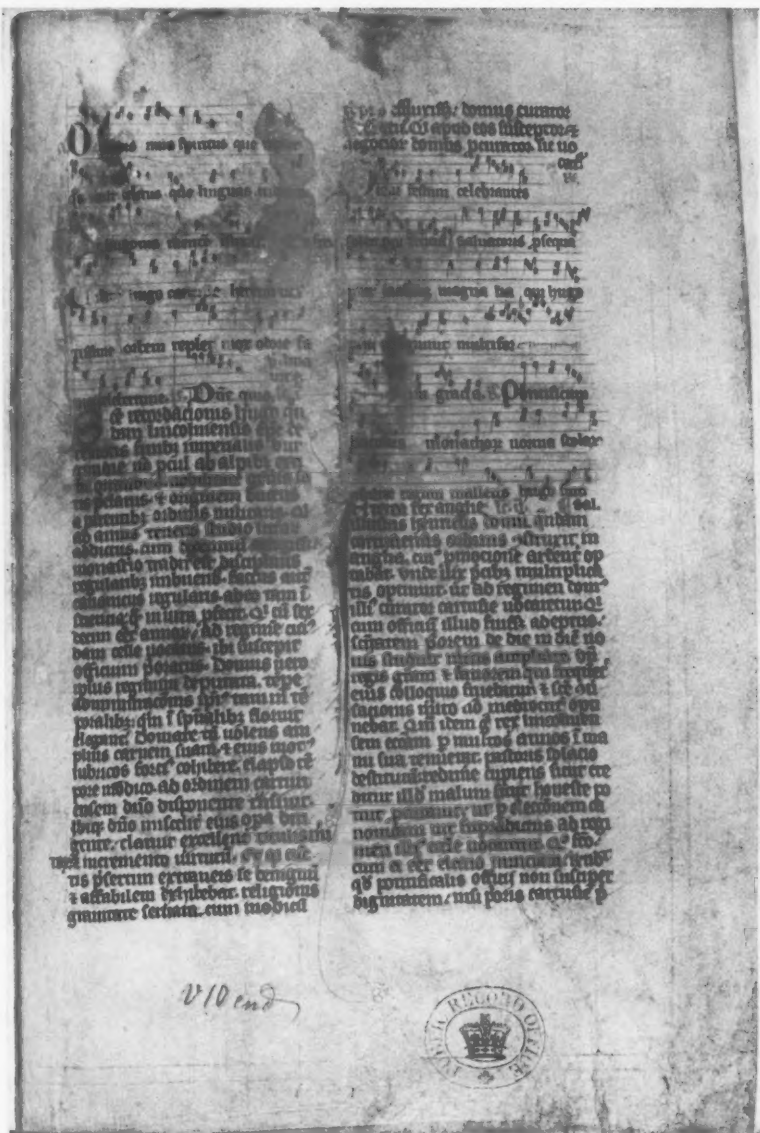
² See *Sarum Missal*, ed. F. H. Dickinson, cols. 163 ff.; *id.* ed. J. W. Legg, pp. 62 ff.

³ Dickinson's edn., col. 189.

⁴ *York Breviary*, ii (Surtees Soc. 75, pp. 373, 681, and 441).



Fragment of York Antiphoner from Inventory of St. Leonard Foster, London
(Thirteenth century)



Fragment of Lincoln Breviary from Inventory of St. Martin Vintry, London
(Fourteenth century)

which are difficult to interpret owing partly to obscurity, partly to the frequent contractions, but seem to be part of the original (i.e. of pre-Reformation date); there appears to be a reference to Canterbury.

On page 2 (see pl. LI) is given the story of St. Martin, with a reference to the appearance of the ball of light over his head after his charity to the beggar: 'dum sacramenta offerret beat' martinus globus exiguus apparet supra caput eius.' On pages 3-4, in connexion with the story of the Invention of St. Stephen, we have part of a long lection (see pl. LI) telling how Gamaliel 'beatus doctor gentium Pauli didasculus' appeared in 415 to Lucianus, 'presbyter venerabilis',¹ instructing him to convey a message to John, Bishop of Jerusalem, in order to direct the discovery of the place where St. Stephen the Martyr was buried, in conjunction with Nicodemus and Gamaliel himself. Hence the Festival of the *Inventio*. The spot was near Gamala on the Sea of Tiberias.²

3. *St. Martin Vintry* (P.R.O., E. 117, 88). Two leaves of a Breviary of the fourteenth century, with music and lections in full, inserted at alternate intervals, and in double columns (pl. LII). The initial letters, as in the previous fragment, are given in colour. The use is probably some variant of Sarum,³ and in view of the contents of the second leaf, may have been adapted for Lincoln Diocese. The first leaf relates to St. Martin of Tours (11th Nov.) and the third page to St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln (17th Nov.).⁴ On the fourth page there appear to be references to medicinal cures for diseases or demoniacal possession, perhaps with some allusion to the work of St. Hugh. Each column contains about thirty lines.

On page 2 there is a reference to the burial of St. Martin: 'beati viri corpus usque ad locum sepulcri ympnis canora turba prosequi . . . non relaxabant alleluja.'

The references to St. Hugh on the third page (see pl. LII) are of much interest: 'episcopus de remotis finibus imperialis burgundie non procul ab Alpibus⁵ exstitit oriundus . . . quod pontificalis officii non suscepit prioris Cartusie.'⁶ In the second column he is referred to in the words 'regum malleus Hugo fuit', a phrase fully justified by his attitude to the English kings of his day, which apparently may be peculiar to this Lincoln version.⁷ Below is a reference to the foundation of the Carthusian house at Witham, Somerset, by Henry II in 1178; Hugh was its third prior. 'Interea rex anglie illustris henricus domum quidem Cartusiensis ordinis construxerat in Anglia.'

¹ Is this St. Lucian of Antioch?

² The story is told on p. 441 of the Surtees edition of the York Breviary.

³ Cf. Proctor and Wordsworth, *Breviarium ad Usum Sarum*, fasc. iii, cols. 1020, 1061 (Henry Bradshaw Soc.).

⁴ See for St. Hugh, *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis* (Rolls Series, ed. Dimock, pp. 52-66); Woolley, *Life of St. Hugh of Lincoln*.

⁵ i.e. Grenoble.

⁶ For St. Hugh's connexion with the Carthusians, see M. Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, pp. 54 ff.

⁷ See Woolley, *op. cit.* p. 162. It was from an epitaph composed by John of Lincoln for Hugh's funeral.

4. *St. Alban, Wood Street* (P.R.O., E. 117, $\frac{4}{72}$). This extract is not, strictly speaking, from an illuminated manuscript, as it is all written in ordinary black text; nor is it part of any liturgical service. Mr. Herbert found that the two leaves contained extracts from St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, lib. xxi, 2-4 (Migne, *Patrol.* xli, 709-12), the date of the copy being about 1300, and the subject being an argument against the Platonists. Mr. Herbert is of opinion that the leaves can only be from a library book, possibly (though evidence is lacking) from one used for reading in a refectory.

The question which naturally arises is, how these manuscripts came into the possession of the City parish churches, and it does not seem easy to answer. It cannot be assumed that the respective manuscripts belonged to the parishes, which utilized them in this fashion, and it seems easier to suppose that at a time when so many service-books were being sold or otherwise disposed of, they were regarded more or less as waste-paper and freely circulated for various purposes. The churches must, of course, have contained numbers of medieval service-books in use down to the reign of Edward VI, and even in 1552 we find in some of the inventories quite long lists of those remaining or sold *en masse* to local stationers. Examples are: St. Mary Magdalene, Old Fish Street; St. Michael-le-Quern; St. Peter Cheap; St. Peter Cornhill; and St. Peter, Paul's Wharf. We do not, however, find any mentioned in the lists of the churches from which our fragments appear to have come.

A Crucifix-figure of the School of Reiner of Huy.—Dr. Philip Nelson, F.S.A., contributes this and the two following notes on objects exhibited by him on 21st October: The bronze font at Liège, now preserved in the church of St. Bartholomew, was formerly in the chapel of Notre-Dame aux Fonts, which was destroyed in 1794. This superb art treasure¹ was executed to the order of Abbot Hellinus (1107-18) by Reiner of Huy, and is the earliest surviving piece which can be attributed to this master. The most conspicuous features of the figures on the Liège font are: their high relief, their fine modelling, the cap-like arrangement of the hair, with a rope-like band falling from the forehead, and lastly the classical treatment of the draperies.

The next occasion on which we meet with the name of Reiner of Huy is as witnessing a document of Alberon I, bishop of Liège, in 1125, where he appears as 'Reinerus aurifaber'. The beautiful censer, in the Archaeological Museum at Lille, c. 1140, may also perhaps be attributed to Reiner of Huy, both from the fine quality of its workmanship, as also from its dedicatory inscription: HOC EGO REINER' DO SIGNVM, etc. It is probable that Reiner the goldsmith died c. 1150.

In addition to the Liège font and the Lille censer, there are two small bronzes which may be attributed to this goldsmith-artist. The first is a crucifix-figure, now in the Schütgen Museum, in Cologne, the second the cross-figure illustrated herewith.

The Cologne example, c. 1120, somewhat heavy in modelling, follows

¹ 'The bronze font at Liège... is the most remarkable work of art, in an historical sense, of any known to me.'—Lethaby, *Medieval Art*, p. 216.

closely the style of the Liège font,¹ a somewhat coarser variant of which may be seen in the Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels.

The second example, here illustrated, formerly in a collection at Munich, retains considerable traces of its original gilding and measures $6\frac{5}{16}$ in. in height. It is very delicately modelled, although the arms are somewhat too long; the loin-cloth, which is knotted over the right hip, approaches very closely



A Crucifix-figure of the School of Reiner of Huy

in treatment to the draperies on the Liège font as also does the hair, save for the presence of a central parting. The bearded head, from which the hair falls upon the shoulders in twisted strands, sinks forward and to the right, and has the eyes closed in death.² The hands retain the heads of the original iron nails, whilst the unpierced feet rest upon a rounded suppedaneum. This figure, which is more graceful than that preserved at Cologne, indeed almost Gothic in character, may be attributed to the artist's latest period, c. 1145.

¹ K. H. Usener, 'Reiner von Huy, Marburger', *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, vii. fig. 12.

² A rather mediocre analogous example occurs in Brussels.

A thirteenth-century filigree Reliquary-cross.—The copper-gilt cross, remounted on a new wooden core in the seventeenth century, the subject of this note, is of French workmanship, c. 1265, and measures 10 in. by 6 in. (pl. LIII).

The front has, unfortunately, lost its filigree, trifoliate ends, no doubt originally enriched with circular, cabochon crystals, mounted in box-settings. This side is adorned with beautiful filigree scroll-work, within a dotted, double border, and where the limbs of the cross intersect, is a cruciform recess, formerly glazed, to enshrine a relic of The True Cross, whilst near the base of the cross is attached a small moulded chalice.¹

The back of the cross is cut from sheet metal, on which the various subjects are lightly engraved. In the centre, in a circle enclosed within a square frame, is the Agnus Dei, bearing the Resurrection-banner. Near the end of each limb of the cross is a quatrefoil, each containing an emblem of the four evangelists, lettered thus: **IOHANNES · MATHEVS · MARCVS · LVCAS**. The limbs of the cross are engraved with a background of lozenge-shaped quarries, alternately plain and pounced. If the angel emblem of St. Matthew is compared with the angel in the west portal of Rheims Cathedral, a close resemblance will be noted, which may suggest a Rheims atelier as the source of this cross.

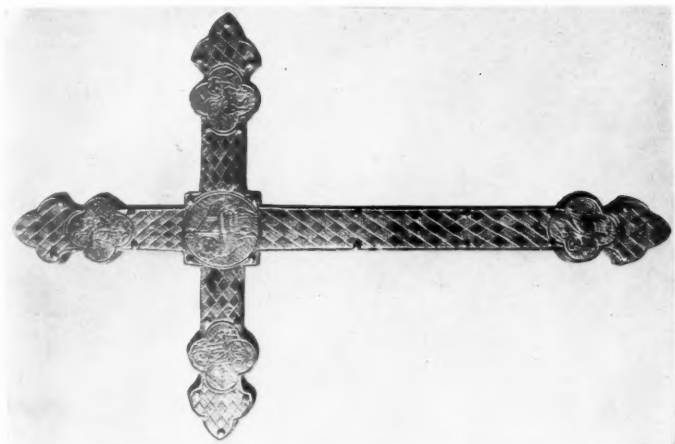
A thirteenth-century Staff-head.—This object, which measures 3½ in. in length, is of bronze, and was found in London over thirty years ago. It consists of two portions, a cast horizontal top, which fits comfortably into the hand, attached to the tube-like socket. The latter is formed from a piece of sheet metal, brazed along the line of junction, strengthened, within at the top and outside at the bottom, by circular rings. This socket is drilled with two holes in order to rivet it to a wooden staff.

The top shows us a wyvern, with closed, feathered wings, swallowing a soul, whose beardless face still protrudes from the monster's pig-like mouth. The tail of the wyvern would appear originally to have made a figure-of-eight turn, so that it came to rest upon the back of the animal, terminating in a flat serpent-head.

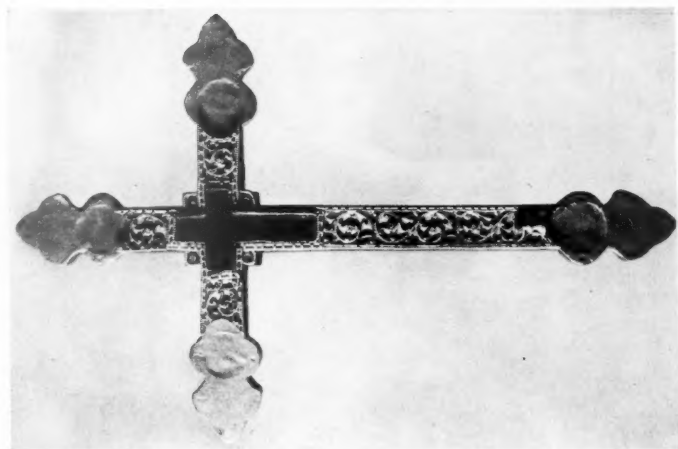
The combat of the Devil and man is figuratively described in 1 Peter v. 8: 'your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour.' Inspired by this passage, we find in the University Museum, Oslo,² an aquamanile with a dragon handle, in which a lion has swallowed a soul, save for the bearded head. In Revelation xx. 2 we meet the Devil described as a dragon: 'And he laid hold of the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years.' Here both the dragon and serpent are named, and this conjunction may be the reason for the amphisboena-like monster on the staff-head. The amphisboena appears to have been very popular in England in the thirteenth

¹ A chalice also appears, upheld by Adam, who is emerging from the tomb, in the Crucifixion in the Arundel Psalter (British Museum, Arundel MS. 83), c. 1280. In this illumination the background is enriched with quarries, alternately plain and charged with fleurs-de-lis.

² Falke and Meyer, *Bronzegegeräte des Mittelalters*, fig. 355.



Back



Front

A thirteenth-century filigree Reliquary-cross



Hallstatt bronze sword from the Thames at Taplow,
Bucks. (L. 30.31 in.), with detail of hilt ($\frac{5}{12}$)

century. We find it occurring in serpent-form as the handle of an earlier English equestrian aquamanile,¹ and as a wyvern on a capital in Burton-Dasset church.²

May it be suggested that we have here a thirteenth-century staff-head, possibly a *Baculus rectoris chori*, of English workmanship, for it is quite unlike the contemporary continental concept of a dragon?



An English thirteenth-century Staff-head

A Hallstatt bronze sword from the Thames at Taplow.—Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes, F.S.A., communicates the following: The bronze sword seen in pl. LIV was exhibited to the Society on 9th December 1937, through the kindness of its present owner Lord Desborough, and it is a particularly fine example of the Hallstatt type of weapon.

It was recovered on 19th November 1936 by employees of the Thames Conservancy, from material dredged by their no. 4 dredger from the bed of the river between Taplow and Bray. The depth of water was 5 ft. 9 in., the dredging depth 7 ft. 6 in., and the exact spot was close to the hatch numbered Hatch R, directly opposite Messrs. Messum's boat-house at Bray, but only 50 ft. out from the tow-path on the opposite or Bucks side of the river, and therefore just within the parish of Taplow. The Conservancy authorities had the sword brought to the British Museum for examination, and consented with their usual readiness to its incorporation in the General Card Catalogue of Bronze Implements, with all the details of finding, which can thus here be quoted.

Taplow Court is the seat of Lord Desborough, who was then approaching the time of his retirement from the chairmanship of the Thames Con-

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* xii, no. 4, 446, pl. xci.

² *Arch. J.* lxvii, p. 289 and pl. 1, fig. 4.

servancy Board, and, struck by this coincidence and no less by the weapon's beauty, the board resolved to present it to Lord Desborough as a personal tribute on the occasion of his retirement, 12th July 1937. It is therefore now in his possession at Taplow Court.

The sword is 71.9 cm. long, or rather over 30½ in.; its width at the shoulders is 6.1 cm., its thickness 0.9 cm., and its weight 712 grammes. Its smooth polished surface is only in part discoloured, and considerable areas of it show a fine golden-bronze colour. The leaf-shaped blade is of the form usual in the Hallstatt type and unusual only in its great length; the point is only marred by a tiny flaw in the casting adjoining it; and the edge-mouldings spring from an especially well-formed pair of ricasso notches beneath the shoulders of the hilt. The latter are again normal in being slightly concave above, and the swelling form of the grip and the spud-shaped tang are no less distinctive. The hilt-plates were attached by nine rivets, all still present; and slight marks of the plates themselves, which were doubtless of bone or horn, are visible in places on the metal surface. It is natural to inquire what features, if any, will give any clue to the sword's date within the period of currency of its type. The conventional dates for Hallstatt are 900–500 B.C., and the bronze swords are supposed to belong to the earlier part of this period. From their home in central Europe they were distributed both northward and westward; in the north Dr. Sprockhoff has assigned their arrival to the sixth period of Montelius's Bronze Age—that is, the ninth of Sophus Müller's system.¹ This is after 750 B.C. at earliest; many would now say after 600, and as the swords certainly seem to go back to the ninth century in central Europe, their use evidently covered a considerable time, within which some amount of typological development is to be expected.

Our Fellow Mr. J. D. Cowen made this the subject of a brilliant paper at last year's International Prehistoric Congress at Oslo, in which he showed that associated finds and geographical distribution both favoured a typology based on several features of which the most obvious is the form of the terminal tang, which underwent successive changes to improve the attachment of the (wood or bone) pommel. In the earlier swords this is almost square, with one rivet-hole: this initial form is confined to the Continent. The latest, on the other hand, have a fish-tail form of tang: this 'advanced' type, confined to Scotland and Ireland, was reached by increasing the size of the feature which appears in our Taplow specimen in an elementary form, namely the notch in the tang's terminal edge. Here this is placed between a pair of rivet-holes as an improvement on the one rivet-hole of the early type. The notched form now before us is, in fact, intermediate, and may be reckoned a specifically British development; from the south and east of England it spread as far as the Highland Zone, but in this Taplow example we have a new illustration of its original Lowland emergence.

The exact date is difficult to fix on British evidence alone, but the spread of the earlier types out of central into western Europe may be associated

¹ E. Sprockhoff, *Die germanischen Griffzungenschwerter*, 43 ff.

with the provincial form of Hallstatt culture known as 'Hallstatt B', from South Germany to the Moselle and so to Belgium, and the time allowance necessary for this movement will prevent our dating this, the ensuing British development, earlier than 800 B.C. That date has been adopted on the label made for our sword by the Thames Conservancy, but it should be regarded as a maximum, and 700 or even 600 B.C. would perhaps accord better with present-day opinions on the chronology of the period. Those opinions are admittedly still fluid, but the westward spread of these weapons is certainly to be associated with one of the elements in the westward migration of the Celtic peoples, and if ever such a sword as this is found in an association which will assign to it its place in the sequence of our Late Bronze to Early Iron Age cultures, a great step forward will have been taken in the prehistory of this important period.

Reviews

The Excavations at Doura Europos conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters. Preliminary Report of the Sixth Season of Work, October 1932–March 1933. Edited by M. I. ROSTOVITZ, A. R. BELLINGER, C. HOPKINS, and C. B. WELLES. 10½ × 7½. Pp. xx + 518. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Milford, 1936.

The preliminary report of the sixth season at Doura continues the standard set by the previous publications of this expedition, and the interest of the remains here recorded surpasses even that of the earlier discoveries on this site. The volume provides an admirable summary of the results, and the sketch-plan of the city now published enables students to judge how far the exploration has proceeded.

Chapters dealing with the private houses enlarge our knowledge of domestic life at Doura during the Parthian and Roman periods, and it is instructive to follow the modifications necessitated by the quartering of a Roman garrison in the city. The house of the Roman Scribes shows a normal dwelling altered and adapted for this purpose, and the discovery of a series of tiles with portraits of the officers residing there adds a touch of human interest to the story. Another important section deals with the baths of the city, and discusses the origin of the later Syrian type of which the city has now yielded an example dating from the first century A.D. The exploration of the Persian mines and further work at the Palmyra Gate add to our knowledge of the military history of the site, and the former vividly illustrate the methods of attack and defence in the third century. All these subjects and the large collection of small finds deserve a fuller discussion, but this must await the final publication of the site. At the moment attention may more particularly be drawn to two buildings illustrating the religions of the city.

The temple of Artemis-Nannaia already explored had been shown to date in its latest form from the second half of the first century B.C. A fuller examination of the site has now revealed two earlier sanctuaries. The first, belonging to the third or second century B.C. and possibly of the date of the city's foundation, was a purely Greek type with a great altar of Artemis standing in an enclosure. About 40 B.C. a small colonnaded temple with twin altars, probably dedicated to Artemis and Apollo, was designed to replace this but was never completed, the work being superseded by the later sanctuary of a more Oriental type. This sequence carrying the story back to the early days of the Hellenistic city is particularly welcome as that period has yielded so few remains.

Of even greater interest is the synagogue discovered under the ramp strengthening the city wall. The mass of earth and debris had in places covered the masonry to a depth of over six metres, preserving not only the internal arrangements but the paintings adorning the walls. The building dates from A.D. 245, replacing an earlier synagogue which had been contrived by the adaptation of an ordinary dwelling. This sequence may be com-

pared with the Christian church described in an earlier report, a building which still retained an essentially domestic character though partly used for sacred purposes. In arrangement and plan the building at Doura resembles other early synagogues. The community does not appear to have been wealthy, and this would explain the long use of an adapted house.

The series of paintings will form an invaluable illustration of the art history of this period and one also throwing light on problems connected with the origin of Christian art. The few colour plates show the excellent preservation of the scenes, and we hope that a full series will be available for study at an early date. Pending this no discussion of the iconography of the individual scenes is possible. We may, however, note two of Professor Kraeling's incidental remarks. Discussing the crossing of the Red Sea he noted that in detail the scene differs from the orthodox western tradition. Another panel convincingly interpreted as the Haggadic story of Miriam's Well replaces the more normal picture of Moses producing water from the rock. These facts show that the Jewish painters at Doura were working on a basis different from that used by the early Christian artists of the west.

The plan of the whole series is at first sight difficult to interpret. We are not altogether convinced by the tentative explanations put forward in the text, and would suggest that, on analogy with early Christian painting, the series be brought into relation with the prayers used in the synagogue. With the Fall of Jerusalem and the cessation of the daily sacrifices these prayers assumed a greater importance in Jewish life, and their illustration would form a suitable subject for mural decoration. The central theme of the vine and the figures of the Elders illustrates the unity of Israel and the pleading before God of the righteousness of the Fathers. The idea of invoking merits of others at the time of prayer appears in the teaching of this century (Talmud, *Tractate Berakoth*, i, ii). Later commentaries develop the theme, and two quoted by Weber use the simile of the vine springing from the dry stock in this connexion (Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, Kap. xix, sect. 63, quoting Wajjikra Rabba, c. 36, and Schemoth Rabba, c. 44). The simile of the vine was certainly used before this, and the ideas recorded in these commentaries were probably familiar very much earlier. The identification of the individuals represented in this panel and of the four flanking figures will follow from the same sources. As the central panel illustrates the idea of prayer, so the lesser scenes represent God's answer to prayer as shown by the history of Israel. The formula in the Mishna (Taanit c. 2) is older than the Doura paintings, and it or a similar prayer probably forms the basis of the arrangement. In it the community implores the divine mercies, recording those granted to the Fathers. The seven examples cited are Abraham on Mount Moriah (Sacrifice of Isaac), Israel crossing the Red Sea, Joshua at Gilgal, Samuel at Mizpah, Elijah on Mount Carmel, Jonah in the belly of the whale, and David and Solomon at Jerusalem. All but the third and sixth appear at Doura, and the fragment interpreted as Jacob's dream may perhaps represent Jonah under the gourd, in Christian art the usual pendant to his deliverance from the whale. Esther, who appears at Doura, also figures in another early version of this prayer. If this connexion be admitted, the interpretation of many details will have to be altered (e.g. the author's

remarks on the building at the end of the Mizpah scene). It cannot without further studies be proved that this gives a clue to the Doura paintings, but an interpretation on these lines would bring them more closely into relation with the ideas governing contemporary Christian art. C. A. R. R.

Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England. An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Middlesex. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. xxxiv + 176. London: Stationery Office, Adastral House, Kingsway, W.C. 2. 1937. 25s.

Having completed the account of London, the Historical Monuments Commission have now very properly turned their attention to what is left of the adjoining Middlesex, a considerable portion of which is now, of course, absorbed in the Metropolis, and included in the corresponding London volumes. The rest, indeed, bids fair to suffer the same fate before many years elapse, leaving presumably no Middlesex with a separate corporate existence, at any rate *de facto*, if not *de jure*. This already applies to such suburbs as Chiswick, Willesden, and Tottenham.

The compilers have, however, been fortunate in finding so much and such really interesting matter to bring to our notice, and the result is this truly magnificent volume. In spite of the fixing of the year 1715 as a rigid limit of date, which has caused the omission of some interesting work such as the eighteenth-century features of Little Stanmore church, it is wonderful to find so much that is good. And this in spite of the absence of any really first-class churches, and, indeed, of any great medieval building except Hampton Court, which, as the compilers note, belongs properly to the country as a whole rather than to the county. Besides this, to which twenty pages of text and over 100 illustrations are devoted, there are some quite admirable specimens of domestic architecture, ranging from Syon House and Swakeleys to Cromwell House at Highgate, which just escapes absorption by the Metropolis. There are also some very fine sepulchral monuments.

The illustrations are, as usual, the very best of their kind, and include no less than 144 full-size plates, and forty more of details, arranged according to categories. They cover forty-six ancient parishes, leaving only a dozen unillustrated. The arrangement of these plates is the one drawback to the volume, as they frequently do not correspond to the printed page, but this, though tiresome to the reader, is presumably unavoidable.

The preface shows the poverty of early remains, but includes a good account of the only prehistoric monument of importance, Grimsdyke. The church features range from the Norman doorways at Harlington and Harmondsworth to Twickenham and the other riverside churches which suffered rebuilding, partial or complete, between 1700 and 1800. The late medieval work is, generally speaking, of no great interest. Among the most interesting fittings we may mention good brasses at Harrow and ancient glass at South Mimms, medieval plate at West Drayton, and a few ancient bells, notably the fourteenth-century work of Peter de Weston at Kingsbury. The terracotta medallions by Giovanni da Maiano at Hampton Court and Hanworth also deserve passing mention.

H. B. W.

The Victoria History of the County of Huntingdon, Volume III. Edited by the late WILLIAM PAGE, GRANVILLE PROBY, and S. INSKIP LADDS. 12 × 8½. Pp. xxviii + 306. London: St. Catherine Press. 1936. £3 3s.

With the appearance of this, the third volume, the Victoria County History of Huntingdonshire lacks only the index. Planned and begun under the editorship of the late Dr. Page, the volume follows the general lines laid down by him. But his death occurred before it was complete, and the publication has been carried through by his collaborators. The main part consists of topographical notices of the hundreds of Leightonstone and Norman Cross. To avoid further delay the surviving editors abandoned the intended chapters on military and agricultural history, but the omission of the latter is largely repaired by a detailed account of the Fenland reclamation.

Huntingdonshire emerged as an administrative unit in the later pre-Conquest period, and neither the county as a whole nor the northern and western districts here described form natural divisions. The two hundreds lie along the western edge of the Fens, including a few parishes largely formed of reclaimed land. The country is gently undulating with a heavy clay subsoil carrying a dense natural forest, the remains of which figure in the medieval documents. Patches of gravel and lighter soil have yielded traces of prehistoric and Roman habitation, but the real clearance and exploitation of these lands was left to the Saxon. The gradual process is reflected in the maps, and occasionally, as at Conington (p. 146), the documents afford a glimpse of the manner in which the complicated boundaries of the settlements were formed.

But in the main this evolution lies behind the period of written history with which this volume is concerned. The history of the manor, a description of the church and other buildings of interest, and an account of the charities of every parish is given. The manorial descents are recorded in great detail with a full citation of the relevant sources. These show the extent and power of the great monasteries which ruled so much of this land in the middle ages, and the details of the services afford a commentary on the agricultural and other customs of the district. A full architectural description of the church and its furniture is in many cases illustrated by a plan on which the various periods are indicated by hatching. The large series of plates is carefully chosen. To avoid duplicating the illustrations recently published in the report of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, many are taken from ancient drawings and photographs recording structures or details now destroyed. With the exception of Kimbolton Castle, a mansion remodelled by Vanbrugh, there are no imposing buildings. The Cistercian abbey of Sawtry has vanished, leaving only the foundations uncovered in the nineteenth century. Conington Castle and Elton Hall are much disguised by late rebuildings. Most of the churches bear the impress of the later middle ages, with spires of the fourteenth century and added clerestories or windows of the fifteenth century. Early detail is recorded in many, and the eighth-century carvings at Fletton rank among the finest Mercian sculpture. The two Saxon crosses at Elton and the twelfth-century cross at Fletton are also worthy of note, and the grotesque tympanum at Stow Longa

is a pleasant relief from the rather pedestrian detail of the other Norman work.

The final chapter is devoted to the middle level of the Fens and its reclamation, a topic covering not only Huntingdonshire but the neighbouring counties to the north and east. The state of the fens in Roman times is an unsolved problem, and pending fuller results from the investigations of the Fenland Research Committee the guarded statements here given are the best available. With the middle ages, information becomes more detailed and the gloomy pictures of the earlier phase are fully recorded as well as the more detailed picture of the part played by these marshes in the later monastic economy. Pasture, always a valuable asset, seems to have been the chief consideration, but the valuable fishing rights were also an asset to the owners. With the approach of 1500 the activities of Bishop Morton foreshadow the greater schemes of reclamation initiated by the undertakers of the seventeenth century. Their difficulties, the opposition of the fenmen and the navigation rights, the shrinkage of the drained peat, and the silting of the channels are clearly and fully set forth. The controversies awakened are not yet fully solved, but the gradual disappearance of the meres and the replacement of sedge and rush by corn and beans and potatoes are sufficient proof that the thought and wealth expended have not been wasted, and the story of this long-drawn effort is fit to stand beside the account of more spectacular reclamation in other lands.

The completion of another county marks a further stage in the publication of the Victoria County Histories. The work entrusted to the Institute of Historical Research worthily continues the standard set by Dr. Page, and the present volume is one of which both editors and publishers may well be proud.

C. A. R. R.

Johannes de Mirfield of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Smithfield; his life and works. By SIR PERCIVAL HORTON-SMITH-HARTLEY and HAROLD RICHARD ALDRIDGE. 8½ × 5½. Pp. xvii + 191. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1936. 15s.

This excellent book, so well produced by the Cambridge University Press, gives for the first time an adequate account of the life and writings of John of Mirfield, 'the first genuine writer on Medicine to be in any way connected with St. Bartholomew's Hospital'. Although John lived for many years in a chamber on the south side of the Priory Church, 'adjoining the Great Altar', he was not, as has been supposed, a member of the monastic community. He appears, indeed, to have been a salaried official of some kind; it is certain that he was a priest, and doubtful whether his medical knowledge was based on anything better than a reading of text-books. He seems to have employed his leisure in compiling, for the good, as he hoped, of his fellow men, two books, the *Breviarium Bartholomei*, a purely medical work, and the *Florarium Bartholomei*, a theological work with one chapter devoted to medicine. He died in the year 1407, and his will directed that he should be buried in the church of St. Botolph, without Aldersgate.

In the present volume Mr. Aldridge, of the Department of Manuscripts

in the British Museum, has collected with a scholar's care all that is ever likely to be known about John of Mirfield and his family; he has examined the manuscripts critically, produced the text of the extracts from the *Breviarium* and the *Florarium*, and has been mainly responsible for the excellent translation. The distinguished physician whose name appears also on the title-page of this book is to be congratulated on the successful carrying out of his plan, and on the achievement of what was, on his part, a work of piety, fitly dedicated to the friends of the 'Priory and Hospital of St. Bartholomew'.

Sir Percival Horton-Smith-Hartley has spared no pains in bringing his expert knowledge to bear in every section of the book, which is as much a contribution to the literary as to the medical history of medieval England.

F. J. E. R.

Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain. By C. H. V. SUTHERLAND.
8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xii + 184. London: Milford. 1937. 10s. 6d.

This scholarly book will be warmly welcomed by all who are interested in the study of the Roman coinage as used in Britain. It can be safely said that the facts and conclusions which embody the discoveries of many years and which have been recorded in many different publications are here clearly condensed and arranged so that the reader can count upon his information being, with few exceptions, up to date.

Mr. Sutherland bases his conclusions almost entirely on the evidence given by the examination of coin-hoards, of which he tabulates the most striking. The two chief reasons for hoarding seem to be (1) the feeling of insecurity owing to the fear of external violence, e.g. during a raid of the Picts and Scots, and (2) the desire to keep in hand the coins of better quality when an inferior currency was about to be introduced, such as happened when denarii were hoarded on the introduction of the silver-washed antoniniani.

In many periods the currency supplied by the official continental mints was very far from sufficient, and semi-official copies, generally of poorer quality, were minted, often by casting, to supply the need. The author has discussed those of each period immediately after its official coinage, and it is possible that this may turn out to be the most valuable feature of the book. A great deal of attention is given to the treatment of the types on radiate coins in the process of copying them in barbarous issues, and excavators who are inclined to put down the reverse of a coin as consisting of 'a barbarous figure' may be stimulated to track down the official design from which it was copied.

Perhaps the period of Romano-British history to which most attention is directed at present is that which includes the fifth and sixth centuries, on which recent coin discoveries at Richborough, Lydney, and elsewhere have shed a little light. The chapter on this period is most instructive. At Richborough four silver coins (three at present unpublished) of Constantine III have now been found, and these with the coins of Carausius II, Censeric, and Pavunius postulate a strong government, at least in the south-east, early in the fifth century. Of the two Richborough hoards of *minimi*, the 'diademed' hoard, containing many very small coins of the Lydney type,

appears to be earlier than the 'radiate' hoard which has affinities with the Saxon sceattas, and may even belong to the sixth century. It is noteworthy that individual coins of the types found in both hoards have been found here and there in Richborough surface deposits.

The problem of the radiate minims is treated very thoroughly. At one time all were thought to be very late, but the St. Albans hoard of such minims was deposited not much later than the reign of Carausius. Moreover, in a Caistor rubbish pit radiate minims were found with official radiate coins and nothing later. It looks as if they were used as small change alongside the radiates with larger flans and were produced as need arose, perhaps until their place was taken by minims copied from the Constantinopolis, Urbs Roma, and Gloria Exercitus types. Some minims of these last types are too well struck to be 'barbarous' and almost certainly belong to the middle of the fourth century. Much later a restriking of radiate minims took place, including some whose reverses are clearly copied from coins of the Constantine and Valentinian families.

The plates, fourteen in number, give figures of barbarous coins and imitations only and should be very helpful. To sum up, this is a book which was really wanted and ought to be widely read.

B. W. P.

The Gun-founders of England, with a List of English and Continental Gun-founders from the Fourteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries. By CHARLES FFOULKES. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 8 $\frac{3}{4}$. Pp. xvi + 134. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1937. 21s.

The definitive work on early guns and gunnery yet remains to be written. Major ffoulkes has not done it: he has not attempted the task. His contribution here is to examine one aspect of the whole; to place on record what is known of the men who made the early pieces, and where they made them. This he has done thoroughly, and it is true pioneer work. He has also, though not with the same thoroughness, set down how the pieces were made; and a little more information under this head would perhaps have been welcome.

The middle—and main—section of the book relates to these things, and in it much carefully collected evidence is digested. This part culminates, and is summarized, in three lists, all valuable, and indeed important as a basis for subsequent investigation: extracts from historical documents, stretching from 1378 to 1786; an alphabetical list of gun-founders, both English and foreign; and a fairly extensive bibliography, but should such names as Luys Collado, Girolamo Cataneo, John Sheriffe, and John Roberts be omitted?

It is indeed high time that such an attempt as this were made, for the records of many of these old foundries are scanty, and the references to them brief and transient. Even Major ffoulkes, for all his pains, has had to be content with but a shadowy picture of some of these vanished establishments, while the honest craftsmen who worked in them have as their monument but little more than a name, or even initials, graved on a surviving piece at Woolwich or the Tower. So the task in itself was well worth while, and all those interested in the history of artillery will be grateful to him.

One very striking feature of this book must not be omitted—the illustrations. It was a happy inspiration to include the beautiful set of six engravings from Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, showing the various processes of eighteenth-century gun-manufacture, from the forming of the core to the appearance of the finished article. There are also some good reproductions of various pieces of the sixteenth century and earlier, such as 'Mons Meg', the 'Dardanelles' gun, and several fine specimens (mostly from the Tower collection) of Henry VIII's artillery.

The 'Gun-founder' chapters, the three lists, and the illustrations comprise about half the content of a not very bulky volume. What of the rest?

Now, at some point or another, the author too must have asked himself this question, and faced a very real difficulty. The gun-founders alone would clearly furnish too small a volume; yet a complete history of early guns and gunnery was, equally clearly, no part of the purpose of this book.

Major ffoulkes's solution of the problem has not been very happy. The extremities of the work are not nearly so convincing as its centre. For many cognate subjects are touched upon, but not very adequately treated. We are led to believe that we are to read a general survey of artillery's rise, only to find, at a most crucial point, that the story jumps a complete century (1404–1509). We are told of the existence of problems, but not what, in the author's opinion, are the answers. We are given a general chapter on 'Guns of Iron and Brass'; but the treatment is not chronological, and the author's plan is nowhere easy to follow. There is much that is of real interest, but little apparent arrangement. There are, finally, two chapters—on 'Powder and Shot' and 'Proof and Range'—which are open to the same criticisms. In fact, we are impelled at times to ask, 'If we are not to hear more, was it worth while to tell us even this?' There comes a point in all summarizing where over-compression leads to inadequacy; and this is particularly true when we are dealing with anything so kaleidoscopic as early gunnery, still in the first vital stages of its adolescence.

It is the arrangement that must shoulder most of the blame, for it has led to much repetition of matter which can hardly be justified on grounds of intrinsic importance. Two examples must suffice: the fatal explosion at Moorfields in 1716 is referred to, in greater or lesser detail, in four places—under 'Manufacture', 'Guns of Iron and Brass', 'Moorfields', and 'Woolwich'; and—an even more striking instance—a passage from Worcester's *Century of Inventions* is quoted twice, first under 'Guns of Iron and Brass', and again under 'Vauxhall'; and exactly the same matter appears yet once more—in the author's own words this time—in the chapter on 'Proof'.

There are other symptoms, too, of a certain lack of care in the construction of these 'extremities'. Thus, on page 30, consecutive paragraphs appear to contradict each other. 'Attempts were made in the sixteenth century', we read, 'to obtain duplication of fire, but, as far as we have any records, this was confined to placing two or more guns together in the gun-carts.' Yet the next paragraph is devoted to giving examples of *real* 'multi-barrel' guns, one of them at least—by Peter Baude—certainly a sixteenth-century piece. That such weapons did exist in that century we know, too, from a manuscript in the National Maritime Museum, where two of them are listed as

being in the Tower in 1595—one (perhaps Baude's triple gun which is still there) a 'piece made to shoot 3 Falcon shots at once', weighing 784 lb.; the other, a much lighter piece of 224 lb., 'made to shoot 7 bullets at once'.

Then in another place we read, 'Just as in recent days the manufacture of munitions was suddenly stopped on the termination of war, so in 1588 after the Armada, Lord Howard of Effingham ordered all foundries to cease casting guns'—an unfortunate parallel which only makes sense if we are willing to admit that the long Anglo-Spanish War ended in 1588—sixteen years before its actual termination!

Again, the table and diagram on pages 92 and 93 are, at best, liable to convey a false impression. The figures, we are told, are 'those generally accepted as the measurements and calibres of cannon in the sixteenth century'. But every student knows that *one* set of figures cannot possibly cover the whole century, for the figures were constantly changing; and what may be right for Henry VIII is quite wrong for Elizabeth. As for the diagram, it is almost worse than misleading. For though the calibres are shown with some attempt at accuracy, the drawings do not portray either the relative lengths of the pieces or their thickness of metal. They therefore convey no hint of the cardinal distinctions between the types of Tudor guns—the long, thin 'culverins', the medium-length, solid-looking cannons, and the short squat 'periers'. Thus the culverin (no. 5) should, given a calibre as shown, be represented as nearly twice as long as it is, while the 'Cannon of 8', which should have a length of about 18 calibres, is drawn with the perier dimensions of 8 to 1: and the enormous basilisk (no. 8), though it may be an approximately true figure of Henry VIII's 'great gun called Basiliscus', bears no resemblance at all to the basilisk of either Sheriffe or Lucar.

But all, or almost all, these objections apply to the 'extremities'; and so they cannot destroy the real value of the book, which lies, as we have seen, with the Founders and their Foundries. The picture is good, even though the frame is hardly worthy of it.

M. A. LEWIS.

Inventaire des Sceaux vaudois. By D. L. GALBREATH. 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 9. Pp. xx + 340. Lausanne: Payot. 1937.

Armorial vaudois. By D. L. GALBREATH. In two volumes. 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 9. Pp. xxvi + 337; xxvii–xliv + 338–754 + xlv–lx. Privately printed, 1934–6.

The sigillographic survey which ought to be considered an indispensable preliminary to the compilation of a provincial armorial has so often been left undone that the reviewing of two correlated works such as these is an unusually grateful task. It is true that the range of the seal inventory and that of the armorial are not chronologically or topographically identical. The feudal period came to an end, so far as Vaud was concerned, in 1536, when it was overrun by Bern, since 1356 a member of the Swiss confederation; and Dr. Galbreath halts his seal investigation at 1536 except as regards the seals of the counts of Gruyère, which are continued till the eclipse of that house in 1570. If the limits of Vaud, the canton—to which status (as the Lemanic Republic) the region attained only at the French Revolution—have served for the nucleus of the seal inventory, it is the old *Pays de Vaud*

under its rulers of the House of Savoy that the author envisages for his sigillographic tableau, with the enclaves of Fribourg on the north-east; these he carries up to the linguistic frontier (of the five west Swiss cantons in which French predominates), wherever Vaudois political and administrative or church institutions have yielded material.

The seals of Vaud reflect its situation between the Franche-Comté of Burgundy on the north-west and Savoy, across the Lemman southwards. Here are Papal bullae since Calixtus II, and the seals of Holy Roman Emperors, princes of Orange (lords of Orbe), counts of Burgundy (lords of Salins), and of Geneva; but the great dynasts are the counts and dukes of Savoy (with arms: cross or eagle), and the sires and later barons of Vaud, of the same house (an eagle with a label of five, then the cross with bendlet gobony), the bishops of Lausanne, princes of the Holy Roman Empire; the counts of Gruyère (a stork, *grue*).

The lesser names include Blonay, of whom some were lords of Vevey; Cossonay and Prangins; Grandson and Champvent, with branches in Franche-Comté and England (represented by impressions in the British Museum); Joinville, in 1251/2 lords of Gex, by the marriage of the chronicler's brother Simon to Lionette de 'Jay'; the elder line of Joinville, La Sarra; Gingins quartering Joinville; Grilly (Grailly), La Baume de Coppet, Mont-le-Grand, and Montfaucon, a branch of Montbeliard, Palézieux, Prèz, Thoire et Villars. About half the book is devoted to ecclesiastical seals, among them the fine one of Amadeus of Savoy, after his abdication (Felix V). The bishopric of Lausanne is represented by sixty-two episcopal seals, and many pertaining to its dignitaries and officials. Other sees, abbeys, and priories, as well as parish churches account for many pages. The abbey of Payerne (Cluniac) has yielded twenty-seven, and Hauterive (Cistercian) thirty-five impressions.

Here is a seal of Gaucerand Andrews, bishop of Leighlin 'in Romana curia residens', a Franciscan, 1488, his arms *Per bend sinister. F. de Fustes* of Besançon, a titular bishop of Granada—the surname unknown to Eubel—is likewise represented, 1449, 52.

The inventory is in practically every respect at the opposite pole to the great majority of works of its class; it would be impossible to expect fuller descriptions of the seals, or completer references, bibliographical and other. The legends, as regards the seal Lombardics, are given in Roman capitals; abbreviations in italics, with those obliterated within brackets; 'Fraktur' is employed for the orthodox black letter. That the work has extended over twenty years can well be believed.

Dr. Galbreath's armorial of Vaud is a comprehensive one, embracing the arms of families and individuals of whatever class, extant as well as extinct, not merely of native houses, but also of strangers who have held Vaudois fiefs, of refugees, and of officials of Bern and Fribourg, the holders of lands in Vaud. The standpoint is antiquarian, so that the book is destined to be of far greater use than a book of arms based upon strict heraldic selection, which indeed can hardly be said to apply to Switzerland. The earliest grant of arms was by Sigismund in 1415, and, by a duke of Savoy, in 1437; and the list of concessions includes grants by France, Prussia, England, and Poland as well as

the Holy Roman Empire. In addition to these 'authorized' (noble) arms, there are the arms of patrician and bourgeois families, peasant proprietors, borne for generations with as little let or hindrance as those of the descendants of the feudality. The armorial strata comprise also examples of arms 'supplied to order', going back apparently to the eighteenth century, emanating from Italy, and exhibiting in their designs time-honoured Italian elements. Dr. Galbreath, who has some interesting remarks upon this class of coat, has cast his net wide enough to include anything that could be an object of inquiry, from seals, books of arms and 'Libri Amicorum', glass, wood carvings, decorative paintings, book plates, down to the brands (*marques à feu*) used for the wooden wine and vineyard appliances of the region. The notices upon the arms of the great houses such as Savoy and Gruyère should be useful, and are judiciously illustrated. The book does not treat of public arms. Of the illustrations, 1,120 are in colour. The author is to be congratulated upon both these works.

A. V. DE P.

Excavations at the Roman Town at Brough, East Yorkshire, 1936. By PHILIP CORDER, F.S.A., and Rev. THOMAS ROMANS, F.S.A. 6×9½. Pp. 69. Hull: Museum Committee. 1937. 1s.

The excavation of the walled Roman town at Brough-on-Humber has made considerable progress during the present season, and in this, the fourth interim report, Mr. Corder is able to sketch in greater detail an interesting history which covered in the main a period of three centuries.

It was quickly found that the north-eastern angle of the town wall had no internal tower, and that the inner Antonine ditch followed the course of the wall. The Flavian sand and turf rampart, which near bastion I survived behind the period II stone wall, was proved to continue its line beyond the wall at the north-east angle, and to be cut into by the Antonine ditch. The solution of one problem has thus left the excavators with another, and they are now faced with the task of ascertaining the nature and extent of the earlier earthwork.

South of the East Gate, which was examined in 1935, two good sections showed the rampart behind the town wall of period II to be of Trajanic and Antonine date, and the two elements in the structure can only have been separated in time by an interval of thirty years or even less. An interesting feature here was the presence of an intervallum gravel path behind the earlier rampart.

Most of the season's work was concerned with a detailed exploration of two areas within the town, and, as a result, no less than seven phases of its history have now been satisfactorily identified. At some time before the Romanization of the town very early in the second century, the huts and debris of the native occupation had been deliberately levelled and buried under a blanket of clean sand. From a stratified pit was obtained a particularly interesting pottery platter, which is evidently the Parisian version of the Belgic dish well known from sites in the south.

A series of massive buildings, of which three were located, were the out-

standing contribution of the Trajanic period, and a house with an unusual furnace arrangement and a tank for the keeping of shell-fish is representative of the second quarter of the second century. The late second and third centuries were times of quietness in the life of Brough: the coins and pottery relics denote a continued occupation, but the town did not expand. The reason is not far to seek, for, as Mr. Corder aptly points out, at that time the focus of military operations was farther north at York, and the old route from Lincoln northward over the Humber at Brough was largely superseded.

The early years of the fourth century, on the other hand, saw an increased activity, and it was probably at this time that the town's defences were strengthened by the addition of bastions. There is as yet little evidence of its condition in the latter part of the century.

Like the earlier reports, the present volume is well produced. The Samian ware is described by Dr. Felix Oswald, the coins by Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, while Mr. Corder himself is responsible for all the illustrations. Once again the Excavation Committee is to be congratulated on its season's work.

R. F. JESSUP.

Map of South Wales showing the distribution of long barrows and megaliths.

Text 56 pp. Southampton: Ordnance Survey Office. 1936. Map only, paper flat, 2s. In cover, with letterpress, on paper 5s., ditto on linen 5s. 6d., ditto dissected 6s. 6d.

Although not mentioned on the title-page, the survey on which this map is based has been prepared by Mr. W. F. Grimes and a more happy collaboration can hardly be imagined. The map is, of course, of the highest quality and the symbols are clear.

Mr. Grimes wisely begins his introduction with a statement of the physical character of the area, and reminds us that coast erosion in Cardigan Bay may well have destroyed monuments of various kinds on a former coastal plain. He gives us most interesting news concerning the probable route of the Stonehenge 'blue' stones from the Presely range to the place of embarkation for their journey by water. Then in turn there are short discussions of long barrows, round chambered cairns, burial chambers, stone circles, cairn circles (only one of the kerb type, Carn Llecharth, is shown on the map), alignments, grouped standing stones, and omitted sites. No settlement sites of the period have been recorded. With regard to 'omitted sites', Mr. Grimes is conservative, and wisely so. Some may weep over the demise of the Ysptyty Cynfin stone circle, but really, as he says, the available evidence is very meagre, and omission is certainly prudent. Some of these themes Mr. Grimes has elaborated in an article in the *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* (1936, 106 ff.), and he has treated the Brecknock long barrows at length in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1936, 259 ff.).

The map is indispensable for all students of megaliths and all students of the prehistory of Wales. May a ready sale encourage the Ordnance Survey to complete their work in this field as speedily as possible.

B. H. St. J. O'N.

Georgian York: A Sketch of Life in Hanoverian England. By R. GRUNDY HEAPE. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xiv + 120. London: Methuen. 1937. 7s. 6d.

This book, well illustrated and produced, gives an interesting account, written in an amusing style, of the manners and modes of the eighteenth century. The author touches on numerous subjects, and does not strictly confine himself to describing life in the city of York.

The most interesting chapter is that describing and giving extracts from the Memorandum Book of Miss Mary Worsley, who married Francis Foljambe of Aldwark Hall, near Rotherham, in 1701. The gargantuan meals give an idea of the capacity of our ancestors for food, the wine and beer consumed though not mentioned can be imagined. Day-to-day expenses are also given; clothing was not expensive in comparison with modern prices, but there are frequent items of 'lost at cards ten shillings or more'. A vivid account is given of the splendour of a ball at the Assembly Rooms in York, which was attended by all the nobility of the county. These Assembly Rooms were designed by Lord Burlington, who, besides being a famous architect, was a great Yorkshire landowner. He and his pupil and successor, John Carr, are adequately dealt with, although the author does not attempt, quite rightly, to give a detailed description of their building activities.

Besides dealing with the artistic and cultural activities of the period, the author also describes the theatrical life which was well represented in York, in the person of Tate Wilkinson, a contemporary of Garrick, who with Foote controlled the York theatre during the latter part of the eighteenth century. In juxtaposition to this there is a short description of the life of the Church as personified by Lawrence Sterne, the celebrated author of *Tristram Shandy*. The questions submitted to the clergy by Archbishop Herring give an insight into the usual condition of parish worship, Sacrament administered five times a year, non-residence, and a question of the frequency of Divine Service.

The book closes with a short chapter describing letters attributed to a certain Richard Chicken, a clerk who lost his employment and ended his life in the workhouse.

R. S. S.

Periodical Literature

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, vol. 67, Jan.—June 1937:—The relation of *Sinanthropus Pekinensis* to *Pithecanthropus*, *Javanthropus* and Rhodesian man, by F. Weidenreich.

Antiquity, vol. 11, no. 4:—Some Anglo-Saxon potters, by J. N. L. Myres; The Church of St. Martin at Angers, by G. H. Forsyth; Dendrochronology, by F. M. Brown; Peasant crofts in North Pembrokeshire, by Sir Cyril Fox; The Long Barrow in Brittany, by S. Piggott; Umm el-Jamal, by G. Horsfield; The city walls of Istanbul, by A. M. Schneider; The vine-scroll in Scotland; Place-names, Scotland; Mesolithic pit-dwellings; Bone-caves, Jura; Bridge in Thrace; Roman bas-relief, Avignon; Turkish water bottle; Human remains, Swanscombe; Petrological analysis; Institute of Archaeology; Early maps; The plan of Avebury: an appeal to the nation.

Archaeologia, vol. 86:—Excavations at Kusura near Afyon Karahisar, by Winifred Lamb; The astrolabe of Queen Elizabeth, by R. T. Gunther; The crowns of England, by M. R. Holmes; An ancient box-wood casket, by P. Nelson; The astrological astrolabe of Queen Elizabeth, by G. H. Gabb; St. Manchan's shrine, by T. D. Kendrick and Elizabeth Senior; Notgrove Long Barrow, Gloucestershire, by Elsie Margaret Clifford; The town and castle of Conway, by S. Toy; The halberd in Bronze Age Europe, by S. P. ÓRíordáin.

The Archaeological Journal, vol. 93, part 2:—Irish castles, 1180 to 1310, by H. G. Leask; The shale industries at Kimmeridge, Dorset, by Henrietta Davies; Tudor domestic wall-paintings, by F. W. Reader; English brass chandeliers, by C. C. Oman; Report of the summer meeting at Edinburgh.

Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, vol. 45, no. 3:—The Gothic revival in the early eighteenth century, by A. E. Richardson.

Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, Winter, 1937:—Uniforms and equipment of the Royal Scots Greys, iv, 1830–55, by Rev. P. Sumner; The South Wales Borderers' History, by J. M. Bulloch; Boom-plaats, 29th August, 1848, by Major G. Tylden; A colonial draft for the Royals in 1757, by C. T. Atkinson; The evolution of the badges of commissioned rank of the British army, by Lieut. N. P. Dawnay; Gooch's American regiment of foot, 1739–42, by W. Y. Baldry and A. S. White.

Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. 22:—Horace, by E. Fraenckel; Human nature and human history, by R. G. Collingwood; Bede, by R. W. Chambers; Chinese art and Buddhism, by L. Binyon; Was the failure of the Spanish Armada due to storms? by J. Holland Rose; Beowulf: the monsters and the critics, by J. R. R. Tolkien; A survey of research on an early phase of Celtic culture, by J. M. de Navarro.

British Museum Quarterly, vol. 11, no. 4:—A bronze head from the Yemen lent by H.M. the King; Bronze lion's head from Najran, S. Arabia; Early decorated pots from Iran; Bronzes from the Eumorfopoulos collection; Coventry treasure-trove; Glass of Anglo-Saxon date; The Dorchester

hoard; Rare Sassanian coins; Roman coins; Early printed romances; Early English road-books; English book-bindings; The M. R. James memorial MS.

Vol. 12, no. 1:—Sculpture from T'ien Lung Shan; Coloured glass from Egypt; Cylinder seals and scarabs; Greek coins; Roman coins; A Hellenistic helmet; Leaves from an illuminated manuscript of Frontinus; A register of Eye priory; Deeds presented by W. A. Compton.

The Burlington Magazine, November 1937:—Early Chinese glass, by W. B. Honey; The old plate of the Corporation of Retford, by E. A. Jones; The 'Alexander of Scotland' tapestry, by H. C. Marillier; The Browett gift at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

December 1937:—Byzantine icons of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, by V. Lasareff; The last phase of 'Regency' design, by R. Edwards; An early Deruta majolica-painter, by B. Rackham; Some Scottish and English plate at Castlemilk, by E. A. Jones; A rock crystal intaglio by Giovanni Bernardi, by G. McN. Rushforth.

January 1938:—Seventeenth-century art in Europe at Burlington House, by E. K. Waterhouse, A. E. Popham, and O. Brackett.

The Connoisseur, November 1937:—The Franz Hals exhibition at Haarlem, by N. S. Trivas; Silver chandeliers made for George II, by W. W. Watts; The English japanner's trade, by R. W. Symonds; Early European automatons, ii, by W. Born; Old base-metal spoons, by N. Gask.

December 1937:—The psalter of Henry IV, King of England; Some tables of early periods, by M. Adams-Acton; The toy theatre, by M. Summers; The pistols of Brescia, by C. R. Beard; The railway in caricature, by J. Phillimore; A royal wassail-bowl, by C. R. Beard; A further note on the portraits of Prince Rupert, by C. R. Cammell.

January 1938:—Five centuries of glass: i, the Franz Ruhmann collection at Vienna, by W. Born; An early autograph album, by C. R. Beard; Gifts of historical plate to Cambridge University and to Trinity College, by E. A. Jones; A royal dagger from Ceylon, by J. F. Pieris; Chessmen and chessboards, by A. B. Tonnochy.

Folk-Lore, December 1937:—Layamon's Brut, by P. J. Heather; Ballyvourney and its Sheela-na-gig, by Edith M. Guest.

The Genealogists' Magazine, vol. 7, no. 12:—The oldest earldoms and their representatives, by W. T. J. Gun; Sulgrave and the Washingtons, by S. H. Lee Washington; Fasti of the Irish Presbyterian church, by the late Rev. James McConnell; The adventures of William Wiggles, by the late T. C. Dale.

The Geographical Journal, vol. 90, no. 5:—Lopo Homem's Atlas of 1519, by M. Destombes.

Vol. 90, no. 6:—Robert Hooke and the cartographical projects of the late seventeenth century (1666-96), by E. G. R. Taylor.

Vol. 91, no. 1:—An unpublished portolan chart of the New World, A.D. 1519, by R. Uhdén.

Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. 57, part 2:—Archaeology in Greece, 1936-7, by G. M. Young; When did the Polis rise? by V. Ehrenberg; The progress of Greek epigraphy, 1935-6, by M. N. Tod; An Etruscan bronze mirror in the Victoria and Albert Museum, by E. A. Lane; The

Poseidon Isthmios by Lysippos, by A. Zadoks-Jitta; Amasis and the Greeks in Egypt, by R. M. Cook; Archaeological discoveries in Scythia and Magna Graecia, by U. Zanotti-Bianco; The Hermes and Dionysos of Olympia, by H. W. Law; An Iranian standard used as a Christian symbol, by A. Roes.

English Historical Review, January 1938:—The petitions of representatives in the parliaments of Edward I, by G. L. Haskins; The battle of Poitiers, by Lt.-Col. A. H. Burne; Richard II's 'Last Parliament', by G. Lapsley; Élie Halévy, by Prof. E. Barker; The library of St. Radegund's abbey, by Prof. A. H. Sweet; Dead-pays in the Elizabethan army, by C. G. Cruickshank; Letters from Gentz and others in Vienna to Hon. H. M. Pierrepont, 1803-6, by C. S. B. Buckland.

History, December 1937:—Prelates and nobles in the Rhineland: a church province in the thirteenth century, by F. R. Lewis; The French Executive Directory, a revaluation, by A. Goodwin; Historical revision, lxxxiii, The Cabinet in the eighteenth century, by T. Williams.

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Finskt Museum, vol. 44:—Old portraits in the Åbo museum, by L. I. Ringbom; 'Russenöfen' and the Russian island fleet, by S. Dahlström; A find of silver in the Åland, by N. A. Lindhult; P. G. Wikman on seal hunting at Hogland in 1842.

Suomen Museo, vol. 44:—The Stone Age hearth site at Mutala in Pielisensuu, by S. Palsi and M. Sauramo; The north Eurasian stone ram's head, by A. M. Tallgren; Finland's earliest Iron Age: excavations at Piikkio, by E. Kivikoski; A new hill-fort at Vesilahti, by J. Voionmaa; Gilded shield parts from Nousiainen, by J. Leppäaho; The church of Hollola and its architectural importance, by I. Kronqvist; Primitive boat building, by A. Hirsjärvi; The *tanu*-, *tano* question, by T. Vahter; The wooden sandals of the Vakka Finns, by K. Vilkkuna; An old fisher's hut in Merikarvia, by E. Nikkilä; Lapp fisheries in Inari, by T. I. Itkonen.

Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France, 1936:—The Horse-shoe in antiquity, by Commandant Lefebvre des Noettes; The word 'ogive', by G. Huard; Limoges crozier at Notre Dame, Nantilly, by J. J. Marquet de Vasselot; The enamels on the Imperial stole at Vienna, by P. Verlet; Excavations in the Visigothic cemetery at Estagel, by R. Lautier; Gold bracteates found in Roman Gaul during the time of the Antonines, by P. de Gentilhomme; The church of St. Remi at Rheims, by L. Demaison; Terra-sigillata vase from Mont Auxois, by J. Toutain; External influences on the Aegean and the place of sea power in the Mediterranean in antiquity, by Commandant Lefebvre des Noettes; The lost mosaic in the palatine chapel at Aix la Chapelle, by J. Hubert; Roman pottery found at Chémery, by H. Tribout; Paintings in the synagogue at Doura-Europos, by Comte du Mesnil du Buisson; Some Bourbonnais churches, by P. Pradel; The *mutatio* of Rousselloy, by G. Matherat; A bone style from Saint Mards les Triots, by R. Lantier; Votive inscription from Grand, by A. Grenier; A Merovingian ring found at Nonant-le-Pin, by Comte du Mesnil du Buisson; Gallo-Roman discoveries in Eure-et-Loir, by M. Jusselin; Fragment of a pottery stamp from Lezoux, by R. Lantier; Painted Gallic pottery from Lezoux, by C. Fabre; Excavations at St. Pierre-sous-Vézelay, by R. Louis; Two Celtic figurines, by R. Lantier; Armorial boundary stones in the district of St. Avoird, by H. Tribout; Two armorial boundary stones, by H. Rolland; The hoards of gold coins found at La Maladière, by J. Gruaz.

L'Anthropologie, tome 47, nos. 5-6 (décembre 1937):—Prof. Obermaier has studied afresh the art on cavern-walls in Eastern Spain, and gives illustrations of human and animal forms, with two tables comparing them

with the painted pebbles of Mas d'Azil. He admits a religious element, but prefers the magical theory of their origin. Fossil man's length of life is discussed by Prof. Vallois, who deals particularly with skulls of the Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic periods in Europe. More than half the Neanderthal subjects died before the age of 20, and only three of those noticed exceeded the age of fifty. An interesting cylindrical idol of pottery of aeneolithic date from Terville (near Thionville, Moselle) is described by E. Linckenheld, who adds some observations on the religion of the ribbon beaker people. There is a long review by Prof. Vaufrey of the report on Tévéc, a mesolithic necropolis in the Morbihan, also of Prof. Macalister's *Ancient Ireland*. There are notices of P. Woldstedt's treatise on the relation of palaeolithic deposits to the glaciations of Germany; and of J. Hillebrand's articles on the early Stone Age of Hungary. The celebration of Prof. Boule's jubilee is recorded at length and a bibliography appended.

Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française, tome 34, no. 10 (octobre 1937). In connexion with the Neolithic Committee Commandant Octobon contributes some remarks on figure-stones (*pierres-figures*), which he dismisses as *lusus naturae*, and distinct from primitive sculpture. M. Armand Viré has a note on the excavation of several Hallstatt barrows at Lacave, Lot; and M. Saint-Just Péquart records the recent discovery of engravings of La Madeleine date at Mas d'Azil. The interpretation of *bâtons-de-commandement* as arrow-shaft straighteners is confirmed by M. Franck Delage; and Abbé Nouel has some observations on the lower level of Beauregard (Nemours, Seine-et-Marne). Levallois and Le Moustier types from the surface at Mourmont (Solesmes, Nord) are recorded by M. Maurice Chiris. Mr. O'Brien contributes a long illustrated article, with sketch-map, on the Prehistory of Uganda; M. Patte emphasizes a peculiarity in certain waisted blades of Aurignac date; and Dr. Renaud discusses the Folsom and Yuma types of North America, with a diagram and bibliography.

No. 11 (novembre 1937). In exhibiting a Cretan sword Col. Pupil pointed out that the grip extended beyond the hilt to the base of the blade. The presentation of a cast of the largest hand-axe known (Saint-Germain-la-Rivière, Gironde) revealed a surprising difference of opinion as to its date. M. Desmaisons observed that the late Adrien de Mortillet had always regarded the lower level of Beauregard as early La Madeleine. MM. Cabrol and Pauron describe a prehistoric ford across the Seine at La Rochette (Seine-et-Marne), and illustrate several bronze implements from the site. The practice of poisoning missile weapons is discussed by MM. Desmaisons and Stephen-Chauvet; Dr. Roffo reports on sepulchral monuments of the Early Iron Age in Algeria; and a stone industry in the Sudan is described by Captain Armand, with illustrations of hand-axes and arrow-heads.

Revue Archéologique, 6 ser., tome 10, juillet-septembre 1937:—The art of archaic Greece, by W. Deonna; Note on the name of the pottery painter Onesimus, by N. Plaoutine; A new monument of the Thracian horseman, by G. Kazarow; The *Guerriero di Capestrano* and the origins of the *Imperium*, by V. Basanoff; The dates of the building of the church of St. Etienne at Vignory, by H. Focillon; From the ancient to the modern navy, by H. de Saussure.

Revue française d'héraldique et de sigillographie, vol. 1, nos. 1-2:—The briquet of the house of Burgundy, by J. Laurent; Einsiedeln abbey and its ex-libris, by E. Secretan; Hidden initials in some bourgeois arms, by P. B. Grandjean.

Bulletin de la Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures, 20^e année:—Illuminated manuscripts in the National Library at Vienna: (i) Italian, by E. Trenkler, (ii) Oriental, by K. Holter.

Les Monuments historiques de la France, 2^e année, fasc. 3:—The château of Chambord, by P. Paquet; The classification of the old gate at Marseilles, by G. Faure; Michel Dorigny's designs for the decoration of the new château at Vincennes, by A. Hurtret; Prosper Mérimée's tour of inspection in 1837, by P. Verdier.

Bulletin de la Société archéologique de la Corrèze, tome 59, part 3-4:—The church of Beaulieu, by A. de Laborderie; The tomb of Gregory XI in S. Maria Novella, Rome, by M. Labrousse; A portrait of the Empress Eugénie by Jules Vialle, by Louis de Nussac; The de Baluze family at the court of Poland, by R. Rohmer.

Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie, fasc. 299:—Processes compelling the town of Saint Omer to grant aids to the sovereign, by J. de Pas; Indulgences granted to the church of Saint Omer to assist in its building, by Abbé G. Coolen; The life and work of Justin de Pas, with a bibliography, by Abbé G. Coolen.

Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, tome 44:—History of the abbey of St. Amand at Rouen, by Marie J. Le Cacheux; The archaeology of food, by Dr. F. Gidon; Suit over tithes at Rupierre and Argences, by L. Collet; The glass works at Ferrière-aux-Etangs, by E. Gautier; A Gallo-Roman cemetery at Luc-sur-Mer, by E. Hue; A chasuble at St. Julien-le-Fauçon, by Abbé Alix; St. Aubin-d'Arquenay, by Abbé Alix; A Latin poem by Marin Le Verrier, by Abbé Tolmer; The bell at St. Rémy-sur-Orne, by Abbé Alix.

Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, 1937, parts 2 and 3:—A Picardy family, the de Ribaucourts, by F. Pancier; The meat trade at Peronne from 1349 to 1550, by M. Devraine; The complaint book of the parish of Vron, by M. Estienne; Religious history of the Revolution: register of the deliberations of the municipality of Nouvion en Ponthieu, by M. Estienne; About de Ronsard, a murder at Abbeville in 1553, by A. Huguet; Artillery at the château du Crotoy in 1543, by A. Huguet; Le feu Ribier: a Picardy legend of the seventeenth century, by V. Douchet; A sarcophagus found at Ville sur Ancre, by V. Douchet; La Fosse Cagnon: record of a stone circle at Ville sur Ancre, by V. Douchet.

Hespéris, tome 24, part 3:—Judaean-Arabic proverbs in Fez, by L. Brunot and E. Malka; Myths and legends of the Zerhoun, by J. Herber; A description of Habt in 1648, by R. Ricard; Note on a ceiling of the Beni Bou Illoul, by Lieut. Maneville; The origin of the Crusading idea, by A. Leman; The names of serpents in Avicenne, by H. P. J. Renaud; Ibero-Africana: (i) A Portuguese 'atalaia' at Arzila, (ii) D. Sancho de Trujillo at Madeira, by R. Ricard; Banking and exchange at Fez before the Protectorate, by A. Lahlou.

Germania, Jahrgang 21, Heft 4:—A 'Bandkeramik' settlement at Arnshausen, by E. Sangmeister; A 'band ceramic' settlement at Harth, Zwenkau, by K. Tackenberg; Two new German cemeteries of the Bronze Age at Lüneburg, by F. Krüger; Excavation of the circle at Otzenhausen in 1937, by W. Dehn; An inscription in the camp of the first legion at Bonn, by H. v. Petrikovits; A military gravestone from the Rhine at Mehrum, by E. W. Gerster; Decorated terra sigillata of the first century, by R. Knorr; Excavations in the 'Marsfeld' at Vesontio-Besançon, by H. Koethe; The representation of Germans, by H. Koethe; The worship of the Mother goddesses in Lower Germany, by L. Hahl; Mundiaccum and the Burgundian kingdom on the Rhine, by L. Schmidt; Frankish graves of the seventh century in Hesse, by G. Behrens; Inscription on a Roman helmet from Xanten, by A. Oxé; The inscriptions on Roman legionary helmets (C.I.L. xiii, 10027, 219), by W. Haberey and H. v. Petrikovits.

Ipek, vol. 9:—Some unpublished or little known Magdalenian works of art, by H. Breuil; The chronology of the Central European neolithic, by J. Neustupný; A neolithic idol from Moravia, by Elisabeth Altgräfin Salm and F. Vildomet; Finnish Stone Age animal sculptures, by C. A. Nordman; Problems of North European rock art, by G. Hallstrom; The rock engravings of Fossum, by J. Bing; Tomb N. 161 of the Nazari collection, by A. Callegari; Animal whirls, by Anna Roes; Northern brooches of the Migration period, by Eva Nissen-Fett; The Thayngen reindeer; A sculptured human head of the Ice Age from Moravia; The first art expression so far as known of prehistoric man found in the High Alps; The chronology of the Palaeolithic; New rock paintings in North Africa; The age of North African rock paintings; The problem of the chronology of the Neolithic and the Bronze Age; Egyptian beads as a fixed point in the chronology of the Bronze Age; Disc brooches from Niederbreisig in the Metropolitan Museum; A part of the Cesena find in the Metropolitan Museum; A new brooch from Szilágy-Somlyó; Avar finds from Trentino and Bozen; A Siberian stone fish in Japan.

Nachrichtenblatt für Deutsche Vorzeit, Jahrgang 13, Heft 9:—Prehistoric research in Austria in 1936, by K. Willvonseder; Genuine and false specimens in collections of prehistoric and bronze objects, by W. Witter; A second chieftain's grave of the Hallstatt period at Bad Cannstatt, by D. Paret.

Jahrgang 13, Heft 10-11:—New 'Bandkeramik' finds, by L. F. Zotz; A new nephrite axe from Silesia, by F. Geschwendt; A shafted stone axe from the Oder, by L. F. Zotz; New cord-ceramic finds from Silesia, by W. Nowothnig; Two objects with cult symbols, by K. Langenheim; Bronze Age hoard from Leubus, by C. Pescheck; The bronze treasure from Woitsdorf, by F. Geschwendt; Two new imported pieces from the Hallstatt district in Silesian urn graves, by E. Petersen; The grave of a wealthy Vandal at Neudorf, by G. Teichmann; New Vandal spearheads with religious symbols, by C. Pescheck; Recent excavations at Siling and their results, by E. Petersen; A new late Germanic vase form, by W. Boege; An 'Avar' find from Silesia, by K. Langenheim; The settlement of the Nimptsch district in prehistoric and early historic times, by W. Nowothnig;

A Bronze Age settlement in Nieder-Neundorf, by H. U. Schultz; The Illyrian fort plan of Grenzkirch, by H. U. Schultz; An Early Iron Age tumulus at Collm, by H. U. Schultz; New Burgundian finds at Liebstein, by H. U. Schultz.

Nachrichten aus Niedersachsens Urgeschichte, nr. 11:—The late palaeolithic settlement between the Hildesheim Wald and the Ith, by W. Warner; A mesolithic site on the Brookzetelmeer in East Friesland, by P. Zylmann; A flint knapping site of the early middle Stone Age at Ketzendorf, by W. Wegewitz; Stone graves at Evendorf, by F. Krüger; Early Bronze Age finds, by H. Piesker: Investigation of the 'Hünenburg' at Borg, by H. Piesker; Remarks on Dr. Piesker's work at the 'Hünenburg', by O. Wolff; Was ancient Schezla in the Wendish or Saxon district? by H. Miesner.

Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden, vol. 18:—Tumuli at Oss, by F. C. Bursch; An urnfield at Strijbeek, by F. C. Bursch; The route of the Israelites from Egypt, by W. D. Van Wijngaarden; A settlement of the Batavi at Zetten, by W. C. Braat; North Holland tumuli, by F. C. Bursch.

Norske Bygder, Bind 4:—Sogn:—Land and people, by V. O. Hopreksstad; Economic and administrative history, by A. Holmsen; Runic inscriptions in Sogn, by M. Olsen; Language, by G. Indrebø; Religious life, by T. Gunnarson; Folk poetry, by K. Bondevik; Folk music, by A. Bjørnal; Costume, by A. Knutsen; Arts and crafts, by R. Kloster; Building, by G. Midttun.

Viking: Tidskrift for norrøn arkeologi, Bind 1:—Albrecht Dürer and some imitations of his work in Norway, by E. S. Engelstad; A Stone Age house at Molder, by A. Nummedal; Brooch with runes from Bratsberg in Gjerpen, by B. Hougen and M. Olsen; Burial chambers at Osberg and Gokstad, by S. Grieg; The Golden Age, by A. W. Brøgger; Arrows from Storhø, by B. Hougen; Icelandic burials and antiquities in the Viking period, by H. Shetelig.

Nordiska Museets och Skansens Årsbok 1937:—The Carolian monograms, by H. Seitz; Viking tradition in Norsk country furniture, by S. Svensson; Fragment of royal cloths in the Museum, by E. Thorman; Midsummer observances, by E. Cronlund; A piece of folk art of about 1500, by J. Granlund; From gild to trades union, by S. Hansson; Artur Hazelius and rice pictures, by S. Svärdröm; Maria Charlotta Holterman's visitors' book, by A. Baeckström; Charles Tottie's collection of Skansen furniture, by G. Selling.

Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, no. 9:—New studies on Chinese bronzes, by B. Karlgren; Silk from the Yin dynasty, by V. Sylwan; A bronze in the style of Houai found in Rome, by B. Vessberg.

Fornvännen, 1937, häfte 5. The large girdle-buckle from the Dune treasure of the thirteenth century, now at Stockholm, is discussed by Carl R. af Uglass, who considers it native Gotland work and modelled on a specimen by the Tingsted master. An occupation-site discovered at Stenkumla on the island of Gotland is referred by Erik B. Lundberg to the Migration period, the buildings apparently belonging to a farm. Harold

Widéén describes a cellar which is all that remains of Bishop Brynolf's late medieval residence at Brynolfsboda or Brunsbo on an island in Lake Wiener. A parallel quoted is the Bishop's three-storied building on Luckö. Illustrations are given of pottery from a neolithic stone-cist near Binnarebo (Älmeboda, Kronoberg).

Häfte 6. Carl R. af Uglass continues his discussion of the Dune buckle and decides on 1235-50 as its approximate date. Sven Tunberg maintains that Helsingland, now the name of the most northerly district of Sweden, originally comprised the whole coast of the Gulf of Bothnia. Axel Bagge gives a comprehensive account of recent research on neolithic occupation-sites and changes in level with respect to the sea on the west coast of Sweden.

Kungl. Humanistika Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund: Årsberättelse, 1936-7:—Prehistoric Greek weights from Malthi, by N. Valmin; The Codex Argenteratensis C vi 5, by B. Axelsson; A third work of Firmicus Maternus? by B. Axelsson; Primitive Messenian pottery, by N. Valmin; The papyrus collection in the Lund University Library, ii, Greek private letters, by A. Wifstrand; Multangular axes and the earliest agriculture in the Mälär district of Sweden, by O. Rydbeck; Provincial Roman and German: studies in the finds from Sösdala and Sjörup, by J. E. Forssander; Early medieval rowel spurs, by H. Olsson; An altar piece from Balkåkra church, by Monica Rydbeck.

Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde, vol. 39:—Swiss painted glass abroad: the collection in Nostell church, Yorkshire, by P. Boesch; A late medieval pictorial subject, Christ of the Trades, by E. Breitenbach and T. Hillmann; The Kunsthalle at Winterthur, a late Gothic secular building, by H. Keller and A. Götz; The dance of death at Chur, by P. Zinsli; The architecture of the parish church at Sursee, by F. Bossard; Excavations by the Pro Vindonissa society in 1935-6, by C. Simonett; Masons' marks on buildings at Fribourg before 1600, by A. Genoud; Fifteenth century Basle painting, by W. Cohn; A genealogical album of Bartholomew Lingg (Link), by F. Thöne; Domestic organ building in Toggenburg, by O. Widmer; The great shrine for relics in the cathedral at Sitten, by J. Baum; A problematic Helvetic quarter stater, by R. Forrer; Chalice at Bosco Gurin, by A. Janner; The work of Franz Anton Leu and Franz Thomas Leu, portrait painters, by H. Dietschi.

Basler Zeitschrift, Band 36:—Basle apothecaries, by J. A. Häfliger; Address at the opening of the centenary celebration of the Historical and Antiquarian Society, by E. His; The interregnum of the Four Representatives in Canton Basle, by E. Schweizer; The Gallus gateway of Basle cathedral, by J. Gantner.

Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, vol. 37, part 1:—Miscellaneous, by A. Fakhry; Decorated stone blocks from the temple at Luxor, by A. Fakhry; Statuette of Yi from Elephantine, by R. Engelbach; A curious monument of the Bubastid dynasties from Heracleopolis Magna, by H. Gauthier; The clearance of a tomb found at al-Fostat, 1936, by A. Hamada; A colonnaded temple of Thothmes III and Hatshepsut at Karnak, by H. Ricke; New name of a pyramid of an Amenemhet, by M. Raphael.

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Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries

Thursday, 4th November 1937. Sir Frederic Kenyon, President, in the Chair.

Sir Leonard Woolley read a paper on excavations at Atchana, North Syria (p. 1).

Thursday, 11th November 1937. Sir Frederic Kenyon, President, in the Chair.

Mr. S. M. Collins read a paper on the Erdeswicke Roll of Arms and its companions.

Thursday, 18th November 1937. Sir Frederic Kenyon, President, in the Chair.

Mr. E. A. B. Barnard, F.S.A., and Prof. A. J. B. Wace, F.S.A., read additional notes on the Sheldon tapestry weavers and their work.

Thursday, 25th November 1937. Sir Frederic Kenyon, President, in the Chair.

Mr. William Harvey and Mr. J. H. Harvey read a paper on recent work at the church of the Nativity, Bethlehem.

Thursday, 2nd December 1937. Sir Frederic Kenyon, President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. M. Hind, F.S.A., read a paper on Italian nielli of the fifteenth century.

Thursday, 9th December 1937. Sir Frederic Kenyon, President, in the Chair.

Miss Sylvia Benton was admitted a Fellow.

Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes, F.S.A., read a paper on a Hallstatt bronze sword from the Thames at Taplow exhibited by Lord Desborough, K.G. (p. 185).

Miss Leslie Scott read a paper on the Roman villa at Angmering, Sussex.

Mr. J. Ward Perkins read a paper on the Roman Villa at Welwyn, Herts.

Thursday, 16th December 1937. Sir Frederic Kenyon, President, in the Chair.

Mr. G. E. W. Bridge was admitted a Fellow.

Mr. T. D. Kendrick, F.S.A., and Mr. A. B. Tonnochy, F.S.A., read a paper on Ralph Flambard's crozier and ring exhibited by the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

Mr. T. D. Kendrick, F.S.A., read papers on an early medieval bronze-gilt head from Furness, and on a Romanesque bronze-gilt cruet formerly in the Londesborough collection.

Thursday, 13th January 1938. Sir Frederic Kenyon, President, in the Chair.

Mr. P. K. Baillie Reynolds, F.S.A., exhibited two medieval metal jugs recently discovered at Ashby de la Zouch castle (p. 178).

The following were elected Fellows of the Society:—Mr. Martin Percival Charlesworth, Mr. Henry Munro Cautley, Mr. Edwyn Jervoise, Mr. Henry Martin, Rev. Henry Tyrrell Green, Major Francis Wentworth Tomlinson, Mr. Francis Thompson, Dr. David Russell, Mr. Hugh Percival Wharton Gatty, Mr. Sydney Mason Collins, Miss Anna Mary Hawthorn Kitson Clark, and Mr. Ralph Stewart Morrish.

Thursday, 20th January, 1938. Sir Frederic Kenyon, President, in the Chair.

Mr. H. Martin was admitted a Fellow.

Dr. E. Kitzinger read a paper on the development of Coptic sculpture.

Thursday, 27th January 1938. Sir Frederic Kenyon, President, in the Chair.

Major F. W. Tomlinson was admitted a Fellow.

On the nomination of the President the following were appointed Auditors of the Society's accounts for the year 1937: Mr. E. A. B. Barnard, Mr. C. T. Clay, Mr. A. Gardner, and Mr. E. C. Ouvry.

Dr. S. J. Madge, F.S.A., read a paper on Worcester House and the royal tragedy of 1649.

